

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Baumgardner
Mr. Williams

SAC, Atlanta

December 13, 1956

~~Director, FBI~~

PERSONAL ATTENTION

~~CITIZENS COUNCILS
INTERNAL SECURITY - X~~

Although reports have been submitted to the Department on all citizens councils concerning which we have conducted investigations and inquiries to date, the Department has indicated the activities of these organizations do not fall within the purview of Executive Order 10450. In view of this fact, there is no basis upon which to base justification for further inquiry. Therefore, you are instructed to immediately discontinue inquiries concerning all citizens councils upon receipt of this letter. It is your responsibility to also immediately notify auxiliary offices of the discontinuance of the investigation.

In order that the Bureau may continue to carry out its responsibilities of keeping interested Government agencies informed of information of interest to them, you must continue your efforts to keep abreast of developments in order that the Bureau may be apprised of any situation which indicates a potential for violence. In obtaining information, however, absolutely no inquiries are to be made by you. You must secure the desired information through close scrutiny of the public press plus whatever information may be volunteered to you.

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| 2cc - Baltimore | 2cc - Miami |
| 2cc - Birmingham | 2cc - Mobile |
| 2cc - Charlotte | 2cc - New Orleans |
| 2cc - Dallas | 2cc - Norfolk |
| 2cc - Detroit | 2cc - Oklahoma City |
| 2cc - Houston | 2cc - Richmond |
| 2cc - Knoxville | 2cc - St. Louis |
| 2cc - Little Rock | 2cc - San Antonio |
| 2cc - Louisville | 2cc - Savannah |
| 2cc - Memphis | 2cc - Washington Field |

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76 JAN 28 1957

NOTE ON YELLOW: See memo Belmont to Boardman, 12-13-56, FJB:CFW:gft, same caption.

FJB:CFW:hif (50)

66 JAN 21 1957

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 16

Letter to SAC, Atlanta
Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS

With respect to the use of confidential informants, I want it clearly understood that no informant is to be given any assignment in connection with obtaining information regarding the activities of citizens councils without prior Bureau authority. If you have a confidential informant already reporting on citizens councils matters you may continue to accept information volunteered by the informant but you must not give him any additional assignments in this field. If you feel it is necessary for some specific reason to continue an informant in a particular citizens council you must immediately advise the Bureau, together with the identity of the informant, his reliability and your assurance that continued operation of the informant will not result in any embarrassment to the Bureau.

Each office receiving copies of this letter must submit to the Bureau a monthly summary of information concerning the activities of citizens councils in your respective territories. The first such letter is to be submitted to reach the Bureau by January 15, 1957, and each succeeding letter must be submitted to reach the Bureau by the fifteenth of each month. This summary, which shall consist of an original and seven copies, must be submitted in memorandum form suitable for dissemination and forwarded to the Bureau by cover letter. These summary memoranda and your cover letter must bear the caption "Citizens Councils, (name of field office)". Each of these summary memoranda must also be dated.

As in the past, information received concerning citizens councils which requires expeditious handling must not be delayed for inclusion in the monthly summary but must be furnished to the Bureau promptly by whatever means of communication is required by the nature of the information.

Letter to SAC, Atlanta
Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS

This matter must receive your personal attention and it is your responsibility, insofar as is possible, to see to it that the Bureau will continue to be in a position to furnish pertinent information concerning potential violence to interested Government agencies.

With respect to the administrative handling of current cases, you should submit a closing report within 30 days from the date of this letter. This report should incorporate any information which has been obtained to date not previously reported. If there is very little information to be reported, you may at your discretion submit a closing letter. On the administrative page of the closing report or in the closing letter make reference to this letter in order that the administrative handling at the Seat of Government may be facilitated.

The fact that we are discontinuing our inquiries concerning citizens councils is not to be discussed or made known in any manner to anyone outside your own office. This includes your confidential informants.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: January 14, 1957

FROM: SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION
IS - X

2-1

Pursuant to instructions in Bureau letter of December 13, 1956, there is submitted herewith an original and seven copies of a summary memorandum on Citizens Councils in this Division.

T-1 mentioned in the blank memorandum is Mrs. [redacted] Nashville, Tennessee.

T-2 is [redacted] Nashville.

T-3 is [redacted]

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ENCLOSURE

ice dit
by C.F.W.

[Handwritten signature]
P. 4 edel

- 2- Bureau (encl. - 8) RM
 - 1- Memphis (105-269)
- JHK:FJ
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INDEXED. 105-34237-20

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

January 14, 1957

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

There is set out hereinafter a summary of Citizens Council activities in the Memphis Division during the past month.

TENNESSEE FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

On January 2, 1957, Memphis Confidential T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised SA FRANCIS W. NORWOOD that the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government is still expanding in membership and chapters. She stated that there are several more chapters in the process of being formed at the present time.

The principal activity of the Tennessee Federation For Constitutional Government, according to informant, is the preparation to lobby for the adoption of a bill by the Tennessee State Legislature calling for the continued segregation of schools in Tennessee. The organization has such a bill prepared and it will be introduced by one of the members of the group who is in the legislature. This person had not been decided on, according to informant. In connection with this program the organization is sending copies of the booklet "The Crisis in Tennessee" to the leaders of various civic groups, women's clubs, editors of newspapers and others who might be of value in supporting their program in the legislature.

The group, according to informant, is continuing their activities in the courts in connection with the school segregation cases and in the defense of the persons arrested by the Federal Government in Clinton, Tennessee for contempt of U. S. District Court. Attorneys from nearly every southern state and from some northern states have offered their assistance in the Clinton case. These attorneys have almost all made one exception in their offers, that being that they will not participate if John Kasper has anything to do with the case. The informant stated that Kasper does not have anything to do with the case and that the TFCG has told him that he was not wanted. The informant advised that background information of a detrimental nature on Kasper had been received by the TFCG from the Citizens Councils.

COPIES DESTROYED

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105-34237-28-2

ENCLOSURE

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

1-14-57

On January 7, 1957, this informant advised that the information on Kasper from the Citizens Councils had been obtained from a confidential investigation conducted at the request of a man named [redacted] a leader in the Citizens Councils of Mississippi. The investigator would not allow his name to be used but a copy of his report and information from an article on Kasper from the Amsterdam News in New York City, had been sent to the TFCG from a representative of the Citizens Councils in Alabama.

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On January 3, 1957, Memphis Confidential Informant T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised SA Francis W. Norwood that the TFCG is sending speakers from Nashville to address local chapters throughout the state to acquaint them with the program of the TFCG and to get them actively supporting the legislative program of the group.

This informant advised that the TFCG might not support the man who was arrested for distributing literature in the U. S. District Court in Knoxville, Tennessee in violation of court orders. The other defendants who were arrested in the Clinton case would be defended.

The Southern School News, in the December, 1956 issue on Page 5, contained the following reference to the TFCG:

"The Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government has announced a five-point program designed to prevent compulsory racial integration in the state's schools. Federation officials said copies of the proposals will be given members of the legislature prior to the opening of the 1957 General Assembly.

"FEDERATION PROPOSALS

"It is our earnest hope that the solution of the state's gravest present problem may be expedited when the General Assembly convenes," the officials said in a statement accompanying the recommendations. The federation asks the legislature to:

"1) Amend the present compulsory school attendance law to provide that no child be required under state law to attend an integrated school.

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION 1-14-57

"2) Establish a pupil assignment system which will call for redefining and extending the functions of local school boards.

"3) Establish a state board of educational administration to hear appeals arising out of pupil assignment and to perform other administrative functions for the educational system of the state.

"GOVERNOR WOULD REVIEW

"4) Vest the governor with power to review decisions of the proposed administrative board and require the governor to close any school in which compulsory integration is ordered or in which voluntary integration is undertaken in anticipation of a court order.

"5) Provide withdrawal of public funds from any integrated schools, establish a system of grants-in-aid for tuition in private schools and provide for continuation of teacher requirement allowances when public schools are closed."

~~ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF TENNESSEE~~

This organization, which has been active primarily in Memphis, Tennessee, has apparently been dormant during the past month and no information has come to the attention of this office through the daily press or other sources regarding it.

~~PRO-SOUTHERNERS~~

This organization, which has been active in Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee during the past eighteen months, has been dormant during the past month and no information has come to the attention of this office regarding it. It is noted that Memphis Confidential Informant T-3, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 10, 1957 that Mrs. [redacted]

[redacted] the Pro-Southerners and has maintained an office for that organization at 3381 Raleigh-Millington Road, has apparently terminated her regular employment with the Pro-Southerners as she is now employed full time in a variety store in [redacted] Tennessee, a Memphis suburb.

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Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION 1-14-57

~~ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI~~

The Mid-South edition of the Memphis, Tennessee Commercial Appeal, a daily newspaper, published December 26, 1956, carried an article datelined December 24, (1956) from Jackson, Mississippi by Kenneth Toler listing officers and Executive Committee for 1957 for the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi. This article is quoted as follows:

"Executive committeemen who will direct state level policies of the Mississippi Association of Citizens Councils were announced Monday by R. B. ~~Patterson~~ of Greenwood, executive secretary.

"Other officers for 1957 include Bob ~~Parish~~, president of The Bank of Greenwood, treasurer; Ellett ~~Lawrence~~, printing company official of Greenwood, finance chairman and W. J. ~~Simmons~~ of Jackson, editor of the monthly publication and administrator. MISS

"65 Councils Formed

"Mr. Patterson also said membership in the organization has reached 85,000 and that councils have been formed in 65 of the 82 counties.

"Named in the statewide executive committee by local councils in the six congressional districts are:

"First District - John B. ~~Cunningham~~, planter-merchant of Brooksville, N. E. ~~Dacus~~, pharmaceutical distributor of Tupelo, Will E. ~~Ward~~, attorney of Starkville, Shelby ~~Woodward~~, chancery clerk of Winston County at Louisville. MISS

"Second - W. H. ~~Anderson~~, attorney-editor and secretary of the Democratic State Executive Committee of Ripley, Ben Jack ~~Hilburn~~, state representative and automobile dealer of Oxford, John ~~labor~~, auto parts dealer of Winona, Z. M. ~~Veazey, Jr.~~, planter of Coldwater. MISS

"Planter is Named

MISS "Third - A. E. ~~Britt~~, planter-ginner of Indianola, Wilburn ~~Hooker~~, state representative and planter-insurance man

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

1-14-57

of Lexington, Fred Jones, Sunflower County supervisor, planter and 1956 Stevenson-Kefauver presidential elector of Inverness, Pete E. Williams, Sr., merchant-planter of Clarksdale. *MISS*

"Fourth - Circuit Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven, Nick Roberts, merchant of Yazoo City, Clay Tucker, attorney of Woodville, Ellis W. Wright, funeral home owner of Jackson. *MISS*

"Fifth - R. C. Bradshaw of the state health department at Pearl, H. H. Harpole of the state Public Service Commission staff at Philadelphia, W. H. Johnson, Jr., state representative and attorney of Decatur, Marion Simpson, sheriff of Madison County at Canton. *MISS*

MISS "Sixth - Ward Hurt, mayor and manufacturer of Lumberton, Dewey Myers, oil company operator of Prentiss, Robert Oswald, city attorney of Pascagoula and J. E. Stockstill, attorney of Picayune."

On January 2, 1957, Robert B. Patterson, Executive Secretary, Greenwood, Mississippi, contacted SA George A. Everett and voluntarily advised that on December 17, 1956 a Charter of Incorporation was filed December 17, 1956 with the Secretary of State for the State of Mississippi, Jackson, establishing the educational fund of the Citizens Councils, Inc. Patterson stated that the purpose of this corporation, which has no capital stock, is to handle all finances of the ACCM so that it can claim tax exemption on the same basis that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claims tax exemption. Patterson stated that the incorporators are all members of the 1956 Executive Committee, together with officers of the ACCM.

Patterson provided SA Everett with a photostatic copy of the Charter of Incorporation and the resolution of aims and purposes to the charter. Patterson then stated that the resolution did not state the aims and purposes of the new corporation but merely was a resolution whereby the incorporators resolved to incorporate the association under the title of Educational Funds of the Citizens Councils, Inc.

Patterson stated there are now two organizations or titles involved in the work of the ACCM since neither title is fully descriptive of the work performed. Patterson stated that the new educational fund is merely a financial branch of the ACCM, which remains an unincorporated association.

Patterson stated that the Educational Fund of the Citizens Councils, Inc. has recorded its Charter of Incorporation with the Chancery Clerk of Leflore County, Greenwood, Mississippi, on December 26, 1956:

The photostatic copy of the Charter of Incorporation is quoted as follows:

"THE CHARTER OF INCORPORATION
OF
EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS, INC.

1. The corporate title of said corporation is:

~~EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS, INC.~~

2. The names and addresses of the incorporators are:

J. B. ~~Cunningham~~
Glenn ~~Trusty~~
Will E. Ward
M. L. ~~Branch~~
Ben ~~Perry~~
Z. M. ~~Veazey, Jr.~~
E. W. ~~Hooker~~
Fred Jones
Pete F. Williams, Sr.
Fred A. ~~Anderson, Jr.~~
Tom P. Brady
J. O. ~~Hollis~~
Ellis W. ~~Wright~~
Wm. H. ~~Johnson, Jr.~~
Marion Simpson
Ward Hurt
Dewey Myers
J. E. Stockstill
R. P. ~~Parish~~
Ellett Lawrence
Robert B. Patterson
W. J. Simmons

Brookeville, Miss.
Tupelo, Miss.
Starkville, Miss.
Winona, Miss.
Grenada, Miss.
Senatobia, Miss.
Lexington, Miss.
Inverness, Miss.
Clarksdale, Miss.
Gloster, Miss.
Brookhaven, Miss.
Carthage, Miss.
Jackson, Miss.
Decatur, Miss.
Canton, Miss.
Lumberton, Miss.
Prentiss, Miss.
Picayune, Miss.
Greenwood, Miss.
Greenwood, Miss.
Greenwood, Miss.
Jackson, Miss.

3. The domicile of the corporation is Greenwood, Mississippi.

4. The amount of capital stock is: No capital stock.

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION 1-14-57

5. Only certificates of membership in the corporation of no par value shall be issued and the number of memberships shall be unlimited. This corporation shall not be required to make publication of its charter, shall issue no shares of stock, shall divide no dividends or profits among its members, shall make expulsion the only remedy for non-payment of dues, shall vest in each member the right to one vote in the election of all officers, shall make the loss of membership, by death or otherwise, the termination of all interest of such members in the corporate assets. There shall be no individual liabilities against the members for corporate debts, but the entire corporate property shall be liable for the claims of creditors.
6. The period of existence shall be perpetual.
7. The purposes for which the corporation is created are:
 - (a) To encourage the free discussion by the Citizens of the United States of those problems upon the solution of which depends the welfare and prosperity of the United States.
 - (b) To disseminate facts to the citizens of the United States with reference to the serious problems confronting them; and to encourage the citizens of the United States to solve those problems in a peaceful, lawful and orderly manner.
 - (c) To improve the physical, mental and moral condition of mankind by education.
 - (d) The rights and powers that may be exercised by this corporation, in addition to the foregoing, are those conferred by Chapter 4, Title 21, Code of Mississippi of 1942, and amendments thereto.
8. The number of shares of stock to be subscribed and paid for before the corporation may begin business is: None"

This charter was signed by the incorporators previously listed and their names are not repeated at this point.

"RESOLUTION

"I, Robert B. Patterson, Secretary of Educational Fund of the Citizens' Councils, an unincorporated Association, do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of a

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION 1-14-57

resolution unanimously adopted at a regularly called meeting of the members of said Association held November ____, 1956, as the same appears in the Minutes of said meeting, to-wit:

"RESOLVED, that Educational Fund of the Citizens' Councils be incorporated under the laws of the State of Mississippi, with the corporate title "Educational Fund of the Citizens' Councils, Inc." and that J. B. Cunningham, Glenn Trusty, Will E. Ward, M.L. Branch, Ben Perry, Z. M. Veazey, Jr., E. W. Hooker, Fred Jones, Pete F. Williams, Sr., Fred A. Anderson, Jr., Tom P. Brady, Ellis W. Wright, J. O. Hollis, Wm. H. Johnson, Jr., Marion Simpson, Ward Hurt, Dewey Myers, J. E. Stockstill, R. P. Parish, Ellett Lawrence, Robert B. Patterson and W. J. Simmons, members of such unincorporated Association, be and they are hereby authorized to make application for a charter as a non-profit, non-share corporation, and to take any and all steps proper to have the association incorporated."

WITNESS my signature on this the ____ day of November, 1956.

Robert B. Patterson,
Secretary"

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237-Sub-28)

DATE: February 14, 1957

FROM : *Jm* SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
MEMPHIS DIVISION
IS - K

Pursuant to instructions in Bureau letter of December 13, 1956, there are submitted herewith an original and eleven copies of a summary memorandum of Citizens Councils in this Division.

T-1 mentioned in the blank memorandum is Mrs. Nashville.

- 2- Bureau (105-34237-Sub-28) (encl.-12) RM
- 1- Bureau (105-44096) (ACCT) RM
- 1- Bureau (105-28645) (P-S) RM
- 1- Bureau (105-34237) (ACCM) RM
- 1- Bureau (105-40707) (TFCG) RM
- 1- Memphis (105-98) (P-S)
- 1- Memphis (105-157) (ACCT)
- 1- Memphis (105-121) (ACCM)
- 1- Memphis
- 1- Memphis (105-148) (TFCG)
- 1- Memphis (105-269)

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JHK:FJ
(12)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-06-2011 BY 60324 UCBAW/SAB/SBS

ENCLOSURE
3 encls. filed in case files

RECO 105-34237-28
RECORDED - 98
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EX-120

per Memphis, Okney by 0-6
Secret Service, C-2, ONI, OCT by R/S
2-26-57
CFW-el

FEB 27 1957

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237-Sub-28)

DATE: March 14, 1957

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
MEMPHIS DIVISION
IS - X

Pursuant to instructions in Bureau letter of December 13, 1956, there are submitted herewith an original and eleven copies of a summary memorandum of Citizens Councils in this Division.

- 2- Bureau (105-34237-Sub-28) (encl. -12) RM
- 1- Bureau (105-44096) (ACCT) RM
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- 1- Memphis (105-157) (ACCT)
- 1- Memphis (105-121) (ACCM)
- 1- Memphis (105-148) (TFCG)
- 1- Memphis (105-269)

JHK:FJ
(11)

*cc encl
Room 1704
CCH*

*ice g end to Sampkins
Olnly by 0-6 G. O. ONI
OST by RAS
3-20-57
C. F. Ward*

*ENCLOSURE
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EX-126*

4 Encl Det

*5 PLACED IN
CCH*

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EX-126

105-34237-28-4

MAR 18 1957

INT @ [Signature]

66 MAR 25 1957

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to _____ March 14, 1957
File No. _____

Re: CITIZENS' COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

There is set out hereinafter a summary of Citizens Council activities in the Memphis Division during the past month:

TENNESSEE FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

This organization was referred to in the February 13, 1957 issues of the Nashville Banner and the Nashville Tennessean, two daily newspapers published in Nashville, Tennessee. It was also referred to in the Southern School News, March 1957 issue, on Page 7. As all of the above references pertain to the same activities, the account as it appeared in the Southern School News is set out hereinafter:

"Signifying an apparent break in Tennessee's pro-segregation ranks, Jack Kershaw, vice president of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, said in Nashville that John Kasper would not be welcome if he participated in a pro-segregationist 'March on the Capitol' in mid-February.

"Kershaw urged that Kasper 'take his gratuitous service' from Tennessee and 'go back to New Jersey.'

"Responding, Kasper termed Kershaw a 'third rate political hack.' Speaking from Knoxville, Kasper said Kershaw is using his stand on segregation as a means 'to advance his political fortunes in the state...

"'Until Kershaw or anyone else in Tennessee legally and positively maintains segregation for native white Tennesseans, my work here remains unfinished.'

"Kasper accused Kershaw and the TFCG of 'wishful thinking' in their approach toward segregation. 'The regular Republican and Democratic organizations of the state have rejected Kershaw' in the past and he is attempting to use states' rights as the 'wedge to get in the political door,' Kasper said.

"WON'T 'DESERT'

"'I'll never desert the Tennessee White Citizens Council or the white race in Tennessee until the outcome of our struggle is crystal clear and spells victory over the race mongrelizers.'

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21 APR 27 1972

ENCLOSURE

105-34237-28-4

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

March 14, 1957

"Replied Kershaw:

"I think that Kasper may have a great talent, but I feel it would be more at home in Greenwich Village than in Tennessee.

"The federation's approach is based on legal and proper constitutional grounds to preserve harmony between the races. If this is what Kasper classifies as 'wishful thinking' then that is more a measure of Kasper's irresponsible opinion of the Constitution than it is an estimate of the federation program.'

"Kershaw denied any political ambitions. Kasper did not take part in the 'March on the Capitol.'"

The "March on the Capitol" referred to in the above relates to a pro-segregationist motorcade to Nashville on behalf of various pro-segregation groups. This motorcade is discussed in the February 12, 1957 issue of the Nashville Banner and is as follows:

"SEGREGATIONISTS FROM 3 CITIES MARCH ON CAPITOL

"Pro-segregationists from three Tennessee cities 'marched on' the State Capitol today, urging legislators to draft strong segregation laws that would skirt the controversial U. S. Supreme Court ruling.

"The first contingent of the three-city motorcade containing 12 cars left Memphis in a pre-dawn move - and arrived here at 9 a.m.

"Segregationist John Kasper was not among the early arrivals.

"The Memphis convoy bearing Confederate flags and including a sound truck blaring Dixie made its way to the State Capitol under escort by State, County and City police.

"Immediately upon joining the Knoxville and Chattanooga groups, the Memphians began circulating to members of a Senate and House of Representatives a copy of proposed legislation, described as an act to require the Commissioner of Education to withhold all State school funds for districts which integrate the public schools.

"Point of the rendezvous was on Highway 70 near Belle Meade Blvd.

"TROOPER ESCORT

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

March 14, 1957

"State Troopers escorted the Memphis caravan into the Capitol area to await similar groups from Knoxville and Chattanooga.

"However, one caravan of Chattanoogaans met the Memphis contingent upon its arrival and accompanied the west-state pro-segregationists to the capitol.

"Jack Kershaw, vice president of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government whose organization snubbed Kasper in a strongly worded statement Monday, was on hand to welcome the first arrivals.

"'I thought it would be the polite thing to do,' Kershaw declared.

"STRICTLY STATE

"' This is a Tennessee rally for Tennesseans,' Kershaw added, 'and neither Kasper nor anyone else from the outside has been invited.

"'As far as we are concerned, Kasper can go back to New Jersey or wherever he's from.'

"Kershaw and A. B. Wren, Memphis pro-segregation leader, termed the 'march on the Capitol' a 'spontaneous thing' which is not sponsored by any organization.'

"COLD SHOULDER

"In giving Kasper the cold shoulder after reports were circulated that he would join the Capitol march, Kershaw said his organization had never considered Kasper 'with favor or disfavor.'

"'We were interested only in his Constitutional rights,' Kershaw stated. 'We were not interested in him as a person.'

"Kasper is now under \$10,000 bond awaiting results of an appeal from a one-year Federal prison sentence handed him in connection with the racial violence which followed integration of the high school at Clinton, Tenn.

"CLINTON REPRESENTED

"The Clinton segregation move is still underway, and a number of Anderson Countians accompanied the Knoxville motorcade here today.

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

March 14, 1957

"Kershaw today reiterated a statement he made during a speech Sept. 1 in Clinton.

"'When the officials keep you from speaking ... you are drifting toward Communism.' he declared.

"Kershaw said he appeared in Clinton 'at the invitation of Clinton citizens and the Anderson County judge - not as a pinch-hitter speaker for Kasper.'"

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF TENNESSEE

This organization, which has been active primarily in Memphis, Tennessee, has apparently been dormant during the past month and no information has come to the attention of this office through the daily press or other sources regarding it.

PRO-SOUTHERNERS

No information has come to the attention of this office during the past month regarding this organization and it is believed to be practically dormant at the present time.

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

This organization was referred to in the March 1957 issue of the Southern School News, published at Nashville, Tennessee:

"COMMUNITY ACTION

"The Association of Citizens Councils has written President Eisenhower that 'the racial situation in this country will continue to get worse until the truth about the fact of race reaches our entire nation.' The statement was in a letter urging voluntary Negro migration to other states, and asking presidential endorsement of it.

"The proposal, which Robert B. Patterson, secretary of the association, said 'is so simple no federal government could consider it' said:

"'Let the state governments of those states whose representatives and press advocate integration for the South, make available accommodations for the number of Negro citizens necessary to bring their Negro population up to the national average of 10 per cent. This includes housing and jobs, as well as school and church

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

MARCH 14, 1957

facilities. Of course, the migration would be voluntary, and we could give the measure wide publicity throughout the state."

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237-Sub-28)
FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-269)
SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
MEMPHIS DIVISION
IS - X

Date: April 12, 1957

Pursuant to instructions in Bureau letter of December 13, 1956, there are submitted herewith an original and eleven copies of a summary memorandum of Citizens Councils in this Division.

T-1 referred to in the blank memorandum is [redacted] who furnished information to SA FRANCIS W. NORWOOD on April 2, 1957, which is originally reported herein.

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T-2 is [redacted] of the Memphis Office and [redacted] Memphis, who furnished information to SA [redacted] on March 25, 1957, which is originally reported herein. T-3 is [redacted] who furnished information to SA NORWOOD April 3, 1957, originally reported herein.

- 2- Bureau (105-34237-Sub-28) (encl.-12) RM
- 1- Bureau (105-44096) (ACCT) RM
- 1- Bureau (105-28645) (P-S) RM
- 1- Bureau (105-34237) (ACCM) RM
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- 1- Memphis (105-98) (P-S)
- 1- Memphis (105-157) (ACCT)
- 1- Memphis (105-121) (ACCM)
- 1- Memphis (105-148) (TECG)
- 1- Memphis [redacted]
- 1- Memphis [redacted]
- 1- Memphis [redacted]
- 1- Memphis (105-269)

1cc send to Tompkins, Olney by 6-2, ONI, OSI by RB 4-25-57 CFW-21

b6
b7C
b7D

*105-44096
105-28645
105-34237*

JHK:FJ
(14)

RECORDED - 49
INDEXED - 49

105-34237-28-5

11 APR 27 1957

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

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*ENCLOSURE
4 copies filed
with [redacted]*

*cc incl
Lm 1704
clw*

71 APR 29 1957

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

April 12, 1957

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS
MEMPHIS DIVISION

There is set out hereinafter a summary of Citizens
Council activities in the Memphis Division during the past month:

TENNESSEE FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

On April 2, 1957, Memphis Confidential Informant T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who requests her name be kept confidential, was contacted. She stated that there are no Citizens Councils operating in Nashville, Tennessee or the surrounding area to her knowledge. She advised that the only organization presently operating in Nashville in the field of segregation to her knowledge is the TFCG. She advised that they are still working on behalf of the defendants in the Clinton, Tenn. case and are trying to help solicit funds for their defense. She furnished a reprint of an article appearing in the Nashville Banner January 2, 1957, which is being distributed by the TFCG and which is entitled "The Clinton Issue: Can One Judge Topple the United States Constitution." She stated that they are also distributing a reprint of an address by the Honorable JAMES F. BYRNES at the Annual Peoria Meeting and Lincoln Day-Dinner which appeared in the Congressional Record of February 14, 1957. This address concerns the constitutionality of the recent Supreme Court decisions.

On March 31, 1957, an article appeared in the Nashville Banner, a daily newspaper, stating that JACKY KERSHAW, Chairman of the States Rights Legislative Committee, (also Vice Chairman of the TFCG) had stated that R.G. CROSSNO was "misinformed" judging from reasons he gave for withdrawing support of a Clinton segregation resolution. The resolution called for the Governor of Tennessee to use his police power to remove Negroes for integrated Clinton High School and was previously supported by CROSSNO. It was still supported by KERSHAW. *T.E.D.*

An article appeared in the Nashville Banner on March 22, 1957, stating that eleven Nashville citizens sought to intervene in a Federal Court case involving an earlier court ruling which opened Nashville's public golf courses to Negroes. The attorney for these citizens was listed as SIMS CROWNOVER, who is also an attorney for the TFCG. *Lynn. Fed. for Constitutional Govt. T.E.D.*

COPIES DESTROYED

21 APR 27 1972

105-34237-28-5
ENCLOSURE

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

April 12, 1957

Memphis Confidential Informant T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who is familiar with the activities of this organization in Memphis, Tennessee and generally throughout the state, advised it is still extremely active in connection with various legal phases of its opposition to integration. Informant particularly indicated that it was interested in the Clinton case and was interested in the public school integration case in Federal Court in Nashville, Tennessee. Informant knew of no proposed mass meetings or public activities which were planned during the forthcoming month.

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF TENNESSEE

On March 25, 1957, T-2, supra, advised that this organization, which has never been active except in Memphis, and to a limited extent in the adjoining counties, is practically defunct. Informant ^{b6} noted that a Southeast Memphis group has split and so far as he knows ^{b7C} has discontinued meetings. Informant stated that [redacted] who was formerly active in the affairs of the group and an official thereof, is being sued in local courts because of his failure to pay certain bills for which he obligated himself on behalf of the organization. Informant stated that the group in the Berclair Community of Memphis is continuing to hold meetings on a very small scale and probably will not be able to continue. He noted that a Germantown, Tennessee (suburb of Memphis) group is continuing to meet but considers itself completely independent of the Association.

Informant noted that this organization has split up so much that there is no centralized direction and the several little community groups which continue to operate are doing so on an independent basis, and that it is actually a misnomer to speak of it as Association of Citizens Councils. He noted, however, the group has not to his knowledge affiliated with any other organization.

PRO-SOUTHERNERS

T-2, supra, further advised that the P-S have closed the office which they formerly maintained in Shelby County at 3381 Raleigh-Millington Road and that the records thereof have been moved to the home of Mrs. [redacted] is the ^{b6} ^{b7C} [redacted] for the organization. Informant states that meetings are continuing at Prayser, Tennessee, and that one group is continuing to meet in Southeast Memphis.

The Southern School News in the April 1957 issue on Page 12 reports that HARRY WILLIAM PYLE, the founder of the P-S, who quit in disgust, died in Memphis February 22, 1957. The article stated that in 1953 PYLE, a retired paint contractor and former Klansman,

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

April 12, 1957

started the P-S. It quoted his family as having stated at the time of his death that he had no contact with the organization after his resignation in March of 1955.

The article further quoted FYLE as having stated that at the time he resigned many of his organization's chapters had stopped meeting.

Per - See [unclear]
T-1 advised that she knew of no activity on the part of any Klan organization but did know that EMMETT GARR, Nashville Klan leader and former P-S leader, appeared at the State Capitol at the same time that a motorcade of persons lobbying for stronger racial segregation laws came there in February of 1957. *T.J.W.*

On April 3, 1957, Memphis Confidential Informant T-3, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he knows of no Citizens Councils in Nashville. He stated that [redacted] is still interested in the U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., and apparently has no further interest in keeping the P-S going. He stated that so far as he knows the P-S are now out of existence in Nashville. *b6 b7C*

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

The above Southern School News on Page 15 contains the following reference to this organization:

"Daughters of the American Revolution commended the Association of Citizens Councils in a resolution adopted in its state convention at Biloxi, saying:

"Our beloved state has had the experience of dwelling in harmony and understanding since Reconstruction Days with our colored friends and has enjoyed a racial tranquility for the past two years when many other states have been torn by strife due to their efforts to mix the races in schools and to promote integration, mainly because of many of our state's most representative citizens being organized into Citizens Councils..."

"Addressing the Canton Lions Club March 20, Robert B. Patterson, executive secretary of the Mississippi Association of Citizens Councils, said before the organization came into being 'the South lost every battle for racial integrity by default.'

"Patterson said since the 1954 start of Citizens Councils in Mississippi, the organization has spread to 29 other states. He said Alabama and Louisiana now have more members than does Mississippi,

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

April 12, 1957

and that 'there is even a council in New York.'

"He said during the past year the state association has raised and spent \$115,000 'to get the truth to the people about racial integrity; to nullify the propaganda of the NAACP and to present the case of the South to our northern brethern.'"

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Parson _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Nease _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

C
 O
 CITIZENS COUNCILS—
 MEMPHIS

BAIRD GARDNER

Hit Hospital Integration

GREENWOOD, Miss., May 22 Administration hospital in Jack-
 son.
 The state sovereignty commis-
 sion, created for preserving
 segregation, recommended that
 the state donate land for the
 hospital even though it would be
 integrated. The commission said
 Mississippi veterans would have
 to use an integrated hospital
 whether it was in or out of Mis-
 sissippi.

*File
 JUNE 5*

Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
 Wash. News _____
 Wash. Star _____
 N. Y. Herald Tribune 5
 N. Y. Journal-American _____
 N. Y. Mirror _____
 N. Y. Daily News _____
 N. Y. Times _____
 Daily Worker _____
 The Worker _____
 New Leader _____

INDEXED - 67

1705-342 37-28-A

NOT RECORDED
 167 MAY 31 1957

EX-108

127

Date *MAY* 23 1957

61 JUN 4 1957

Liaison Section
Mr. Williams

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-06-2011 BY 60324 UCBAW/SAB/SBS

105-34237-28

RECORDED - 50

Date: May 23, 1957
To: Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence
Department of the Army
The Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.
Attention: Chief, Security Division
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Subject: CITIZENS COUNCILS
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

There is being furnished you herewith,
for your information, a copy of a memorandum dated
May 14, 1957, prepared by the Memphis Office of
this Bureau concerning the captioned matter.

Enclosure

- 1 - Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosure)
- 1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosure)
Air Force BY COURIER SERVICE
- 1 - AAG William F. Tompkins (Enclosure) (By Form 0-6, same date)
- 1 - AAG Warren Olney III (Enclosure) (By Form 0-6, same date)

BY COURIER SVC.
C.C. A.E. only
65 MAY 24
COMM - FBI

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MAY 23 1957
COMM - FBI

CFW: mrr
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55 JUN 6 1957

- Olson _____
- Nichols _____
- Boardman _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM

Handwritten signatures and initials:
J.B.
M.B.
7 2 21K
MAY 27 1957
Olney

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI(105-34237-Sub-28)

DATE: May 14, 1957

FROM : SAC, Memphis(105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
MEMPHIS DIVISION
IS - X

Pursuant to instructions in Bureau letter of December 13, 1956, there are submitted herewith an original and eleven copies of a summary memorandum of Citizens Councils in this Division.

[redacted] referred to in the blank memorandum is [redacted] who furnished information to SA FRANCIS W. NORWOOD, which is originally reported herein.

- 2 Bureau(105-34237-Sub-28) (encl.-12) RM
- 1- Bureau(105-44096) (ACCT) RM
- 1- Bureau(105-28645) (P-S) RM
- 1- Bureau(105-34237) (ACCM) RM
- 1- Bureau(105-40707) (TECG) RM
- 1- Memphis(105-98) (P-S)
- 1- Memphis(105-157) (ACCT)
- 1- Memphis(105-121) (ACCM)
- 1- Memphis(105-148) (TECG)
- 1- Memphis [redacted]
- 1- Memphis(105-269)

b6
b7C
b7D

JHK:FJ
(12)

*Let ACSI cc ONI, + OSI
w/ cc to AAG's Tompkins &
Olney by 5-6. cc encl
to each 5-23-57
CFW*

*cc encl
Nov 1704
CFW*

105-44096-6
105-28645-11
105-34237-1

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RECORDED - 37

INDEXED - 37

105-34237-28-6

MAY 20 1957

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ENCLOSURE
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EX 105

Old



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
May 14, 1957

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS
MEMPHIS DIVISION

There is set out hereinafter a summary of Citizens Council activities in the Memphis Division during the past month.

TENNESSEE FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

On April 25, 1957, Memphis Confidential Informant T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that organization has no active program at this time other than the assistance of the persons from Clinton, Tennessee who are being tried for contempt of Federal Court in that they violated terms of a court injunction.

On April 29, 1957, T-1 stated that attorneys from the TFCG were going to Knoxville to help argue the case of the Clinton defendants.

On May 8, 1957, T-1 advised telephonically that the U. S. District Judge in Knoxville had been much more lenient with the Clinton defendants than expected, and that the leaders of the TFCG were very pleased with the progress of the defense of these persons. At the same time T-1 advised that the TFCG continues to send out literature, such as reprints of the editorial appearing in the Nashville Banner, dated January 2, 1957, and the address of Honorable JAMES F. BYRNES at the Annual Peoria Meeting and Lincoln Day Dinner that appeared in the Congressional Record.

T-1 stated that the TFCG receives many pieces of right-wing inflammatory literature but that most of this is merely thrown away in disregard. She advised that the group is still trying to maintain independence and a calm attitude toward the question of segregation.

The Southern School News in the May 1957 issue, which is published at Nashville, Tennessee, discussed the forthcoming case to be tried in the U. S. District Court at Knoxville in which sixteen Anderson County, Tennessee residents and JOHN KASPER were defendants. These individuals were charged with criminal contempt in connection with racial disorder in Clinton, Tennessee. The publication stated that in Nashville JACK KERSHAW, segregationist

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21 APR 27 1972

105-34237-28-6
ENCLOSURE

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS, MEMPHIS DIVISION

May 14, 1957

leader, said "none of the money collected for the defense of the 16 Clinton defendants would be used in behalf of Kasper." It is noted that KERSHAW has been identified as Vice Chairman of the TFCG.

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF TENNESSEE

No information has come to the attention of this office during the past month regarding this organization and it is believed to be practically dormant at the present time.

PRO-SOUTHERNERS

No information has come to the attention of this office during the past month regarding this organization and it is believed to be practically dormant at the present time.

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

The above mentioned Southern School News in the May 1957 issue on Page 12 contains the following regarding this organization:

"Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia will address a delta-wide Citizens Councils meeting at Greenville May 7. He will be presented by Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson of Mississippi, a member of the council. The address will be in the Greenville High School auditorium.

"The state association of the all-white Citizens Councils has begun a weekly series of televised forums originating in Jackson over station WLBT (Channel 3) each Monday night at 10:45 p.m.

"W. J. Simmons of Jackson, secretary of the state association and editor of the official monthly paper of the organization, said the telecasts 'are intended to acquaint the public with the serious problems affecting states' rights and race relations and with steps being taken to meet them.'"

SAC, Memphis (105-269)

November 6, 1957

Director, FBI (105-34237-28) 7

RECORDED - 9

CITIZENS COUNCILS
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Reurlet dated October 24, 1957, in which you advised in effect that violence could erupt in any community in portions of Tennessee and Mississippi covered by your office and therefore you propose to initiate a program to develop coverage in all citizens councils in northern Mississippi and in certain councils in Tennessee depending on the results of a survey to be conducted.

With regard to the development of informants in these councils the Bureau would again like to point out that all efforts in this regard must be extremely discreet. The Bureau is not interested in the activities of citizens councils as such but only in the potential for violence or interference with Federal court orders or injunctions on the part of citizens councils and in activities of these groups which may be in violation of civil rights statutes or other laws over which the Bureau has jurisdiction.

If there is any doubt as to the reliability or dependability of an individual to be contacted for the purpose of developing him as a source, he should not be contacted.

If adequate coverage can be obtained by developing informants in fewer citizens councils it should be done; however, if it is necessary to obtain informants in every council in order to insure the Bureau is in possession of complete informatbn, you should do so.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Bulet 10-9-57 instructed field offices to develop informants in citizens councils in those areas where racial trouble may develop. Responsibility for adequate coverage was left to the field inasmuch as different situations exist in every community.

- Olson _____
- Nichols _____
- Boardman _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Tranter _____
- Nease _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: October 24, 1957

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Clayton	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Rebulet to Atlanta dated October 9, 1957 with copy to Memphis.

The following program has been instituted in this office pursuant to reference Bureau letter:

I. SCOPE OF CITIZENS COUNCILS' ACTIVITIES

MISSISSIPPI

Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi is known to have had at least forty-five separate units operating in thirty of the thirty-seven North Mississippi counties covered by this office and it is possible that there are units in other counties at the present time. It claims to have many thousand members in the territory, is well organized and highly publicized throughout the State of Mississippi. It is not too difficult by virtue of the publicity which these citizens councils have received in Mississippi to establish the exact location of councils. Mississippi, as will be noted, is the mother of the citizens councils movement and the council in Mississippi is strongly supported by all elements of the population from the finest to the lowest.

TENNESSEE

In Tennessee this office has investigated the following:

- 2- Bureau (105-34237) RM
- 1- New Orleans (info) RM
- 1- Knoxville (info) RM
- 1- Memphis (105-121)
- 1- Memphis (105-98) RECORDED - 62
- 1- Memphis (105-148)
- 1- Memphis (105-157)
- 1- Memphis (105-269)

JHK:FJ
(9)

*2070 Memphis
11-6-57
Spec: add to file*

105-34237-38-7

OCT 28 1957

INT. [Signature]

Me#105-269

Letter to Bureau 10-24-57

Pro-Southerners (P-S), Memphis File 105-98

Bureau File 105-28645

Association of Citizens Councils of Tennessee (ACCT)

Memphis File 105-157

Bureau File 105-44096

Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government (TFCG)

Memphis File 105-148

Bureau File 105-40707

All of the above are deemed by this office to come within the term "citizens councils" as used in reference Bureau letter. The above organizations are strongly and vehemently dedicated to the preservation of segregation. All of them, particularly the TFCG, profess to be interested in all phases of the "States Rights" movement, although the primary field in which they display an interest in States Rights at the present time is in opposing integration. The P-S and ACCT have operated primarily in Memphis and due to poor organization and leadership are relatively quiet at the present time. Their inactivity should not be considered as an indication of a lack of interest therein but rather as an expression of the relative racial peace which exists in Tennessee at present.

The TFCG claims 3000 members distributed throughout eighty-one of the ninety-five counties in the state. This organization has discouraged the formation of local groups and the holding of meetings on a local basis except in Nashville and Memphis. Because of this policy it is difficult for this office to definitely pinpoint the location of local units. Due to the fact, however, that the members are located pretty generally throughout the state, it is believed that there are some members in practically all counties in the territory covered by this office. In this connection it is believed that in practically every locality there is some informal nameless group which is meeting together and planning steps which will be taken to resist integration in the event an attempt is made in their respective counties.

UACB this office is considering the TFCG, as well as the P-S, as being identical with the term "citizens councils"

Me#105-269

and coverage of these organizations will be developed under this program.

Reference Bureau letter states "It is not desired that informants be developed in each and every citizens council within the territory covered by your office but it is imperative that efforts be made to develop informants in citizens councils in areas where there might be integration trouble." Every county covered by this office can have trouble if any form of integration is attempted. There is no area that can be considered sufficiently safe from the possibility of violence to obviate the necessity of informants. It is noted that the racial population of this field division, even in Tennessee, varies from the mountainous counties of Middle Tennessee, where there are few Negroes, to the West Tennessee counties, where the Negroes are most numerous. There was serious racial trouble in Clinton, Tennessee even though there were very few Negroes in that county. It is impossible to over-exaggerate the degree of bitterness and potential for violence that presently exists in this area.

In considering this problem in evaluating the need for coverage there are two unknown facts, which are "Where will integration be attempted" and "Where will an isolated minor racial incident set off an explosion of serious racial violence." Wherever either of the above occur there will be trouble.

II. PLAN OF COVERAGE

In view of the foregoing this office proposes to initiate this program with the intention of developing coverage in every known council in North Mississippi. It is hoped, however, that early in the program as additional information is developed regarding the individual councils, that it may be found that one informant or source may be able to provide coverage of various groups. In this connection it is known that various councils meet together frequently. It may be found that one council is dominating the activities in a given area to the point where coverage in the other councils will be unnecessary.

Me#105-269

Letter to Bureau 10-24-57

This decision, however, cannot be made on an arbitrary basis and must be worked out on an individual basis in order to assure coverage throughout the territory.

Regarding Tennessee, the development of informants and sources will be undertaken in Memphis and Nashville without delay as the files of this office contain sufficient information to justify that action. Regarding the other areas in Tennessee, however, it is believed necessary to have the Resident Agents on an individual basis undertake to conduct a survey in their particular area to determine the need for coverage. It is contemplated that the Resident Agents in Tennessee will contact thoroughly reliable criminal informants, PCI's, and any other sources in order to locate active groups in their areas. After a determination has been made regarding the extent of actual activities in each county, sufficient informants will be developed to cover that activity.

This office is immediately reopening all 134 files on individuals who were previously considered for development as Security Informants, PSI's, and Panel Sources prior to the discontinuance of the investigation of citizens councils. This office has approximately twenty closed 134 files on individuals who are in an excellent position to bring the office up to date on the citizens councils' activities in their respective areas.

This office will appreciate any observations or suggestions which the Bureau may have regarding the above. The matter will be closely followed in order to carry out fully the instructions in reference Bureau letter.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-32437-Sub-28)

DATE: November 22, 1957

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS

IS - X

Rebulet October 9, 1957.

During the past thirty days this office has taken the following action regarding this program:

I. STEPS TO ENSURE SUCCESS OF PROGRAM

Inquiries have been conducted throughout the territory to discreetly determine the extent of Citizen Council activity. To date it appears that Citizens Councils definitely exist in the following Mississippi Counties:

Monroe County	(dormant)
Clay County	"
Prentiss County	"
Alcorn County	"
Lee County	(active)
Bolivar County	"

Inquiries have determined that as of the present time there are no councils in the following counties: Union County, Tishomingo County, Ittawamba County, Pontotoc County (in process of being formed).

In Tennessee inquiries have reflected that apparently there is no organized activity in the territories of the Dyersburg and Murfreesboro Resident Agencies, or in the following counties: Decatur County, Perry County, Robertson County, Chester County, McNairy County, Hardin County, Dickson County.

Inquiries reflect that either there are or have been in the recent past active Citizen Council groups in Madison County and in Fayette County, Haywood County and Hardeman County, Davidson and Shelby Counties.

II. STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AND EXPAND UPON THE PROGRAM

Although inquiries to date, as set out above, have not definitely established the existence of organized councils

2- Bureau (105-34237-Sub-28)

1- Memphis (105-269)

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INT. SEC.

Me#105-269

Letter to Bureau 11-22-57

in certain counties, these inquiries are being continued until such time as it can be positively and conclusively stated that there is no organized pro-segregation groups in the separate counties.

So far as any expansion of the program, as initiated by this office, it is believed at this time that this plan and program is sufficiently comprehensive and ample to determine the existence or non-existence of councils and to establish sufficient coverage in those areas where councils are known to exist.

III. RESULTS ACHIEVED UNDER THE PROGRAM

A. Names of Individuals and Sources Developed

Letters have been or will immediately be addressed to the Bureau requesting authority to contact the following:

NAMES

--

ORGANIZATION

--

b6
b7C
b7D

B. INFORMANT SYMBOLS ASSIGNED DURING PAST THIRTY DAY PERIOD

None

IV. SUMMARY OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS ACHIEVED UNDER THE PROGRAM SINCE ITS INCEPTION

Due to the relative newness of this program, it is understandable that tangible results are quite limited at this time. It is noted, however, that the program is resulting in a

Me#105-269

Letter to Bureau 11-22-57

careful county by county analysis of the Citizens Council situation which will be of inestimable value in following this matter on a permanent basis.

The program to date is resulting in the reactivation of various individuals who were formerly furnishing information regarding this type of activity.

This matter is being closely followed in this office and is being given my personal supervision.

1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Williams

RECORDED - 50

105-34237-28 - 9

Date: January 3, 1958
To: Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence
Department of the Army
The Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.
Attention: Chief, Security Division
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Subject: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

1-135

There is enclosed for your information a memorandum dated December 18, 1957, prepared by the Memphis Office of this Bureau concerning the captioned matter.

Enclosure

- 1 - Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosure)
- 1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosure)
Air Force
- 1 - AAG W. Wilson White (By Form 0-6, same date) (Enclosure)

BY COURIER SVC.
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COMM - FBI

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CFW:dlh

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 [Illegible signature]
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STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: December 18, 1957

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-121)

SUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI
IS - X

Enclosed herewith are five copies of a blank memorandum reporting an interview with ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Executive Secretary, ACCM, 207 W. Market Street, Greenwood, Mississippi. PATTERSON volunteered the information to SA GEORGE A. EVERETT on December 9, 1957.

The Bureau's attention is called to the fact that PATTERSON has frequently furnished information to SA EVERETT and has mailed to SA EVERETT printed material being disseminated by the council. PATTERSON's attitude seems to be that he prefers to furnish the information himself and thereby avoid having the Bureau checking every community to secure the desired information which he knows could be done.

2- Bureau (105-34237) (encl.-5) RM

1- Memphis (105-121)

JHK:FJ

(3)

*2274 rec'd. 12/20/57 (encl.)
RACIA W. H. 12/20/57 (encl.)
12/15/57
cfw: all*

RECORDED - 48

105-34237-28

DEC 23 1957

ENCLOSURE

[Handwritten signature]



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Memphis, Tennessee
December 18, 1957

Re: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

On December 9, 1957, a confidential source of this office, who is familiar with certain activities of captioned organization and of ROBERT B. PATTERSON, the Executive Secretary thereof, advised as follows:

This source stated that the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi had recently formed a women's division of the organization. The source stated that this is not a separate branch but is a part of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi planned to enlist women as members of local councils. The source stated that the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi had learned at Little Rock and Nashville that women are less intimidated by Federal action than men.

Source stated that PATTERSON was asked if this meant the women would be more inclined to fight than men. Source quoted PATTERSON as stating that this was not the intention of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, as violence is not a part of the council's plan of action, but it will no doubt be resorted to if the segregation issue cannot be settled without it. The source quoted PATTERSON as stating that the citizens council movement was initiated to preserve segregation without violence, and that when the citizens council movement fails (if it does) to preserve segregation peacefully, then the work of the council is finished and the "mobs" will take over. The source noted that, according to PATTERSON, the council has never advocated the use of violence but has always urged its members to resort to legal means.

This source further pointed out that PATTERSON admits that the various councils no doubt have among their membership men who will stop at nothing to preserve segregation and some of them will resort to violence on their own initiative.

100-341-207
ENCLOSURE

Source quoted PATTERSON as stating that it is quite possible that some violence has been committed by citizens council members, but they do so on their own and not because of any suggestion or policy of local councils or the state association. This source further quoted PATTERSON as stating that it would be impossible to keep all council members from committing acts of violence just as it would be impossible for a church or civic group to keep its members from sin.

The source further pointed out, according to PATTERSON, had not the councils been formed there would no doubt have been a revival of the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi run by persons who are not as responsible as the leaders of the citizens council movement. The source noted that PATTERSON would personally oppose any effort of the Ku Klux Klan to invade Mississippi.

This source further noted that, according to PATTERSON, he would be the last to deny that violence in various sections of the country has helped the citizens council movement, especially since most of the Negroes think the citizens council is behind all acts of violence. He noted that PATTERSON's position in this regard is that as long as the Negroes want to think that the council is behind acts of violence, he will not enlighten them since that belief by the Negroes will keep many of them from actively opposing segregation.

This confidential source further stated that, according to PATTERSON, everytime the citizens council movement begins to drag the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or the Federal Government takes some action which has the effect of reviving it, such as the Little Rock situation. In this connection PATTERSON pointed out, according to the source, that the council had never been able to organize a council at Pontotoc, Mississippi, but when a recent incident involving the alleged disappearance of a Negro youth in the Pontotoc Community caused the newspaper to scent another EMMETT TILL case, a council was immediately formed there.

This is furnished for your information and should not be disseminated to unauthorized persons or agencies.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-32437-Sub-28)

DATE: December 24, 1957

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
IS - X

Rebulet October 9, 1957.

During the past thirty days this office has taken the following action regarding this program:

I. STEPS TO ENSURE SUCCESS OF PROGRAM

Inquiries are being continued throughout the territory to determine the full extent of Citizens Council activity. All Agents are carefully following newspapers and making discreet contacts in an effort to pinpoint the existence of Citizens Councils. It has been determined that the Citizens Councils in Mississippi which exist on a county level are more or less dormant at the present time. Most of them were established six months to a year ago and as there has been no overt efforts to integrate in these rural areas, there is no reason for any activity on the part of the Councils at the present time. The Councils in Mississippi are highly regarded by most of the white people in the communities and receive considerable publicity in the respective counties whenever there are any meetings. Due to the absence of regular meetings at the present time, it has been found more difficult to establish the identities of the leaders who should be interviewed under this program.

In Tennessee the Agents are also continuing contacts on a county basis. It is noted that there is considerable less organized county council activity in Tennessee than there is in Mississippi, and that most of the staunch supporters of segregation in Middle and West Tennessee are members of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government. This organization has not encouraged the formation of small county groups.

II. STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AND EXPAND UPON THE PROGRAM

As previously pointed out, inquiries are being

2- Bureau (105-34237-Sub-28) RM

1- Memphis (105-269)

JHK:FJ

(3)

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105-34237-28-76

Me#105-269

Letter to Bureau 12-24-57

continued throughout the territory to establish the existence of organized councils and even though preliminary inquiries have tended to indicate that there are no activities, these inquiries are being continued. In the event any activity is developed in counties which are not known to have had Citizens Councils in the past, efforts will be made to effect coverage of them.

III. RESULTS ACHIEVED UNDER THE PROGRAM

A. Names of Individual and Sources Developed

The Bureau has authorized interviews with the following individuals:





b6
b7C
b7D

Some of the above individuals have been interviewed and the Bureau will be promptly advised of the results of these interviews.

Additional letters are being submitted to the Bureau as speedily as additional names are developed who appear to be suitable for interview under this program.

B. Informant Symbols Assigned During Past Thirty Day Period

 This individual is  and is in a position to furnish information of great value regarding the membership and activities of this organization.

b7D

IV. SUMMARY OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS ACHIEVED UNDER THE PROGRAM SINCE ITS INCEPTION

To date there are few tangible results which can be pointed to under this program. It is pointed out, however, that an accomplishment of considerable importance is the fact that the program has re-emphasized in the minds of all Agents the importance

Me#105-269

Letter to Bureau 12-24-57

of Bureau coverage of these organizations in an effort to pinpoint areas of violence. Because of the need to locate and develop informants, the Agents have of necessity had to talk discreetly with numerous people. In order to secure their cooperation, the Agents have spent considerable time in explaining to the people being contacted the part which the FBI plays in the field of Civil Rights and racial problems today. It is believed that many misunderstandings which exist in the territory regarding the scope of the Bureau's activities are being cleared up by the contacts which the Agents are making. This matter is being closely followed in this office and is being given my personal supervision.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 12/27/57

MM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (105-384)

SUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IS - X

Memphis

Re Bulet 11/7/57.

On 12/4/57

[redacted]
Camp Lejeune, N. C., furnished SA JOHN C. QUIRIN with four photo-
static copies of the pamphlet mentioned in Bulet, this pamphlet
being entitled "The Citizens' Council." b6
b7c

As requested in Bulet, two copies of this pamphlet are
being furnished the Bureau and one copy is being furnished to
Memphis as enclosures to this letter.

- 2-Bureau (105-34237)(Encls. 2)(RM)
- 2-Memphis (Encl. 1)(RM)
- 2-Charlotte (105-384)
- (1 - 105-331)

JCQ:fer
(6)

ENCLOSURE *66*

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DEC 30 1957

*received to
m. l. c. b.
11/7/58
faw. acch*

INDEXED-66

INT. SEC.

86 JAN 7 1958

ENCLOSURES (2) TO BUREAU:

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (105-384)

Two copies of pamphlet entitled
"The Citizens' Council"

RE:
ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IS - X

REGISTERED MAIL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-06-2011 BY 60324 UCBAW/SAB/SBS



THE
CITIZENS'
COUNCIL



Q 105-331

*Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good
order and domestic tranquility in our Com-
munities and in our State and to the
preservation of our State's Rights.*

68759 L

105-34237-28-11

What Is The Citizen Council?

The Citizens' Council is the modern version of the old-time town meeting called to meet any crisis by expressing the will of the people. The right to peaceably assemble to petition for a redress of our grievances is guaranteed in the first one of our Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States of America. The only reliable prophet for the future is the past, and history proves that the Supreme Power in the government of men has always been Public Sentiment. The Citizens' Council simply provides the machinery for mobilizing, concerting and expressing public opinion.

Our councils are independent groups located within the towns and counties of our state. The local officers are chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer. Each council has four basic committees, including:

1. *Information and Education*—This committee seeks information pertaining to racial problems from all over our nation. It presents to the people within its community the truth about the racial question, thereby nullifying the propaganda from alien influences and pressure groups. Its job is to convince all of our people of the advantages of segregation and the dangers of integration.

2. *Political and Elections*—This committee studies candidates for local and state elections and presents their qualifications to the voters. It attempts to get candidates to voice their opinion on vital subjects prior to election. It can reach each voter personally to present the truth on all matters to the people. It is our belief that an interested, informed people who vote intelligently is the only means we have of perpetuating our constitutional democracy.

3. *Membership and Finance*—This committee enlists all patriotic white citizens for membership, thus assuring your local organization of the support of public opin-

ion and a financial means with which to operate. Thus far, nearly all of the local organizations have set their annual dues at \$5.00 per member. Every white Southerner should be proud to pay this amount in our battle for State's Rights and the individual right to educate his children with children of his own kind. It is a fundamental right for every American to have pride in his race and to avoid conditions that might foster and promote intermarriage of his children with other races.

4. Legal Advisory—This committee provides the legal knowledge that will aid us to achieve our aims by constitutional lawful means. If the way of life of forty million people supported by over a century of precedence and practice can be upset *legally* by nine political appointees, surely *legal* steps can be taken by a determined majority to correct this grievance. It anticipates moves by agitators and devises legal means for the solution of any racial problems that might arise locally.

Why Does Your Community Need a Citizens' Council?

Maybe your community has had no racial problems! This may be true; however, you may not have a fire, yet you maintain a fire department. You can depend on one thing: The NAACP (National Association for the Agitation of Colored People), aided by alien influences, bloc vote seeking politicians and left-wing do-gooders, will see that you have a problem in the near future.

The Citizens' Council is the South's answer to the mongrelizers. *We will not be integrated!* We are proud of our white blood and our white heritage of sixty centuries.

People with racial pride are attacked by the NAACP and its affiliates as being bigoted, prejudiced, biased, immoral, un-American, etc. These hysterical smear words are

used in lieu of any logical reason why a person can no longer be loyal to his white blood, his church, his state, and his nation above all else.

In other words, the right to *esprit de corps* which has won every war we have fought is no longer in style. The idea now is seemingly to pride ourselves in the fact that everybody in the world should be made equal by law, regardless of aptitude or heritage. The "have nots" must share equally with the "have gotts" in this new world order.

If we are bigoted, prejudiced, un-American, etc., so were George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and our other illustrious forebears who believed in segregation. We choose the old paths of our founding fathers and refuse to destroy their ancient landmarks to appease anyone, even the internationalists. This integration scheme ties right in with the new, one world, one creed, one race philosophy fostered by the ultra-idealists and international left-wingers.

The fate of our great nation may well rest in the hands of the Southern white people today. If we submit to this unconstitutional, judge-made integration law, the malignant powers of atheism, communism and mongrelization will surely follow, not only in our Southland but throughout our nation. To falter would be tragic; to fail would be fatal. The white people of the South will again stand fast and preserve an unsullied race, as our forefathers did eighty years ago. We will not be integrated, either suddenly or gradually.

Mississippi is considered a poor state in cash values. Yet we have only one known communist, the best record of any state in the union. This year a Mississippi boy was elected President of Boy's Nation and a Mississippi girl was elected President of Girl's Nation at the national convention in Washington. Our youth, then, of both races is our wealth and our proven defense against the sinister forces that would destroy our nation.

We are certainly not ashamed of our traditions, our conservative beliefs, nor our segregated way of life.

How Will The Citizens' Councils Roll Back the Dark Cloud of Integration?

By organizing the white Americans who have pride in their white race and forethought for their posterity, by mobilizing public opinion.

Edmund Burke, the great British statesman, said, "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing."

We must organize every town and county in our state and then every state in the South. Forty million white Southerners, or a fraction thereof, can be a power in this nation if properly organized and certainly need not fear the NAACP, with only 200,000 members.

We need every patriotic white Southerner, rich or poor, high or low, who is proud of being a white American. It is indeed sickening to hear some of our brain-washed educated people whine, "It's inevitable. There's nothing we can do. We have lost." Our Southland by every material line of reasoning should already be a land of mulattoes. Eighty years ago our unconquerable ancestors were beaten, in poverty and degradation, unable to vote and under the heel of negro occupation troops. All they had was their undying courage and faith that the Almighty helps those who help themselves. Are we less than they? We are the same blood; white blood that was kept pure for you for 6,000 years by white men.

Our situation is not as hopeless as theirs, but just as insidious and deadly to our posterity if you and I do nothing. What decision are you going to make for those baby children at home?

In conclusion, here are some facts: At this time (November, 1954) there are one hundred and ten towns in Mississippi that now have Citizens' Councils, including over 25,000 white male members and penetrating 33 counties. Our sister states, Alabama and Georgia, have formed councils and they are now spreading. A state Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi has been formed, with headquarters at Greenwood, Mississippi. Our councils have helped pass a vital amendment to our State Constitution that the people of Mississippi failed to pass only two years ago. Racial tensions have been eased and local problems solved in counties that have active Citizens' Councils.

The highest type of leadership has been provided in each community where councils have been formed. We intend to prevent integration legally and thus prevent violence, friction and racial hatred. We intend to carry on the peaceful relations we have had with our colored citizens, to help them to help themselves and to try to help instill in them a sense of pride in their race as we have in ours.

If you are interested in forming a Citizens' Council in your community, contact our state headquarters at Greenwood or any Citizens' Council from your adjoining county and we will be glad to assist you. Then, in turn, you may help your adjoining county organize.

Either we will all stay white together or we will be integrated county by county and state by state. Are you doing your part? There is nothing more important at this time!

Published by the
ASSOCIATION OF
CITIZENS' COUNCILS
GREENWOOD, MISS.
(HEADQUARTERS)

Price \$3.00 per 100

Mr. Tolson
 Mr. Nichols
 Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont
 Mr. Mohr
 Mr. Parsons
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Tamm
 Mr. Trotter
 Mr. Nease
 Tele. Room
 Mr. Holloman
 Miss Gandy

JAN
V.
Baumgardner
file

*citizens Councils -
 memphis*

UP100

(SCHOOLS)

GREENWOOD, MISS. -- STAMPS DEPICTING SOLDIERS WITH BAYONETS AT THE BACKS OF TEEN-AGED GIRLS AND THE SLOGAN "REMEMBER LITTLE ROCK" ARE BEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL MOVEMENT.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY ROBERT PATTERSON SAID THE STAMPS WERE ORIGINATED "BECAUSE WE DON'T WANT THE PEOPLE TO FORGET ABOUT THE USE OF TROOPS IN ARKANSAS."

GEORGIA ATTORNEY GENERAL EUGENE COOK, ONE OF THE MOST ACTIVE SOUTHERNERS IN THE PRO-SEGREGATION CAMP, ANNOUNCED TODAY THAT ALL HIS OFFICIAL MAIL IS CARRYING THE STAMPS.

PATTERSON SAID SOME OTHER SOUTHERN OFFICIALS ALSO ARE USING THE STAMPS.

1/3--GD202P

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105-34237-28-11-
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 10 JAN 9 1958

57 JAN 1958

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237-Sub-28)

DATE: January 24, 1958

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
IS - X

Rebulet October 9, 1957.

During the past thirty days this office has taken the following action regarding this program:

I. STEPS TO ENSURE SUCCESS OF PROGRAM

Inquiries are being continued throughout the territory to determine the full extent of citizen council activities. In each area where any organized council has been found to exist, steps are being taken to develop one or more as informants or confidential sources. Generally the councils are relatively dormant at the present time as there is no immediate effort to effect integration being made in Mississippi or in the rural areas of Tennessee.

II. STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AND EXPAND UPON THE PROGRAM

No additional steps have been taken in this regard as the program as presently operating appears to be ample.

III. RESULTS ACHIEVED UNDER THE PROGRAM

Since the inception of this program, this office has requested authority to interview fifteen individuals, all of whom are known to be in a position to furnish information regarding the councils. These individuals are scattered throughout the territory covered by this office. To date approximately ten of these have been interviewed and all have been cooperative. The Bureau is being advised promptly of the results of these interviews and recommendations are being made for further development of the individuals in question. In most instances it is believed that the cooperative individuals will be recommended as confidential sources.

2- Bureau (105-34237-Sub-28) RM.

1- Memphis (105-269)

JHK:FJ

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Me#105-269

Letter to Bureau 1-24-58

To date the Bureau has approved no individual as a confidential source.

IV. SUMMARY OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS ACHIEVED
UNDER THE PROGRAM SINCE ITS INCEPTION

The accomplishments of this program are difficult to measure in tangible terms. The present accomplishment to date, outside the good geographical distribution of the individuals successfully interviewed, is believed to be the fact that Bureau Agents incidental to the program have been able to explain the exact part the Bureau plays in the field of civil rights and racial problems today. It is believed that this program, as presently operating, will clear up much misunderstanding regarding the Bureau's role in these matters.

This matter is being closely followed in this office and is being given my personal supervision.

Jim

Measure Would Authorize Citizens Councils Funds

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
Cities and counties would be authorized to donate public funds to Citizens Councils — white pro-segregation groups — under a bill introduced in the Senate.

Drafted by Sen. Hayden Campbell of Jackson and co-authored by 29 of the other 48 senators, the bill authorizes donation of public funds to "any association or organization having as its purpose

the perpetuation and preservation of constitutional government and the division of powers thereunder."

The bill would authorize donation of \$100 for each million dollars of assessed valuation in counties and municipalities. Hinds County alone has an assessed valuation of 150 million dollars.

Campbell said today it was his intent that the money be donated to the Citizens Councils. "The councils did not ask me to introduce this bill," he added.

The councils were organized in Mississippi in 1954 by white men

dedicated to keeping segregation in all levels of Mississippi life by any means. Since then, the organization has spread throughout the South.

Asked why he wanted the councils to have public funds, Campbell said: "Without them, Mississippi would have lawlessness in its race relations. The councils have stood for lawful means of segregation."

He would not elaborate on what the councils have accomplished, saying: "Their record speaks for itself. I think the leaders of the councils ought to answer that question. I am a member of the council but not a leader."

(State Council Administrator W. J. Simmons of Jackson was out of town and unavailable for comment on the accomplishments of the councils.)

Campbell said he thought also that the State Sovereignty Commission—which he helped create in 1956 to protect the state against federal encroachment upon states rights and segregation—ought to donate some of its \$250,000 appropriation to the councils.

The measure creating the Sovereignty Commission authorizes such donations.

Commission officials were unavailable for comment on why no such donations have been made.

Asked if the councils eventually would replace the Sovereignty Commission, Campbell said: "I don't think there's anything to replace. The commission hasn't done anything."

Sen. W. B. Lucas of Macon has introduced a bill to abolish the Sovereignty Commission.

During the last two years, the commission has mailed information about Mississippi throughout the United States.

Hayden Campbell

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
JACKSON, MISS.
2/11/58
Page 3 Cols. 3 - 5

Memphis

CITIZENS COUNCILS

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47 FEB 26 1958

58 FEB 26 1958

4/0
Citizens Councils - Memphis

Introduce Segregation Bill

JACKSON, Miss. (P)—Cities and counties would be authorized to donate public funds to citizens councils—white pro-segregation groups—under a bill introduced in the Senate. Drafted by Sen. Hayden Campbell of Jackson and co-authored by 29 of the other 49 senators, the bill authorizes donation of public funds to “any association or organization having as its purpose the perpetuation and preservation of constitutional government and the division of powers thereunder.”

Bailey

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105-34237-28*

NEW ORLEANS STATES
NEW ORLEANS, LA.
2/11/58
Page A Cols. 1 & 2

105-34237-28-A
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58 FEB 26 1958 ²⁰

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237-Sub-28)

DATE: February 24, 1958

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-269)SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
IS - X

Rebulet October 9, 1957.

During the past thirty days this office has taken the following action regarding this program:

I. STEPS TO ENSURE SUCCESS OF PROGRAM

Inquiries are being continued throughout the territory to determine the full extent of citizens council activities. This office recently obtained a comprehensive list of the organized councils in the State of Mississippi, including the identity of the various officers of each group. This list is being explored by the Mississippi Resident Agents for informant potential. Citizens Council activities are generally dormant at the present time in Mississippi, however, and are practically non-existent in Tennessee.

II. STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AND EXPAND UPON THE PROGRAM

No additional steps have been taken in this regard as the program as presently operating appears to be ample.

III. RESULTS ACHIEVED UNDER THE PROGRAM

Since the inception of this program, the Bureau has approved five Confidential Sources, two of which are located in Tennessee and three in Mississippi. Numerous other individuals have been interviewed satisfactorily under Bureau authority and the results of these interviews are being furnished to the Bureau promptly. It is contemplated the number of approved sources will increase materially during the coming thirty day period.

No informant symbols have been assigned during the past thirty days.

2- Bureau (105-34237-Sub-28) RM
1- Memphis (105-269)
JHK:FJ
(3)

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105-34237-27-13

3 FEB 23 1958

MAR 4 1958

Me#105-269

Letter to Bureau 2-24-58

IV. SUMMARY OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS ACHIEVED
UNDER THE PROGRAM SINCE ITS INCEPTION.

The accomplishments of this program to date have consisted of establishing reliable sources at strategic locations throughout the territory who will be in a position to furnish information to the Bureau even in instances where individuals have been reluctant to cooperate under this program. It is believed that the contact with them was beneficial as it enabled the interviewing Agent to help clear up possible misunderstandings which they may have regarding the Bureau's position.

This matter is being closely followed in this office.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237-Sub-28)

DATE: March 24, 1958

FROM: SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
IS - X

Rebulet October 9, 1957.

During the past thirty days this office has taken the following action regarding this program:

I. STEPS TO ENSURE SUCCESS OF PROGRAM

No change in this regard as the program is being continued on the basis of contacts throughout the territory in an effort to locate citizens council activity and develop informants therein.

II. STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AND EXPAND UPON THE PROGRAM

No additional steps have been taken in this regard as the program as presently operating appears to be ample.

III. RESULTS ACHIEVED UNDER THE PROGRAM

Since the inception of this program, the Bureau has approved eleven Confidential Sources, six of which are located in Mississippi and five in Memphis, Tennessee.

There is one symbol number informant in Nashville, Tennessee.

No informant symbols have been assigned during the past thirty days.

IV. SUMMARY OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS ACHIEVED UNDER THE PROGRAM SINCE ITS INCEPTION

There has been no change in the accomplishments other than a continued development of approved sources and thorough effort to locate citizen council activities. Investigation to date has indicated that organized activity is practically dormant in Tennessee except in Memphis and Nashville.

This matter is being closely followed in this office.

2- Bureau (105-34237-Sub-28) RM
1- Memphis (105-269)

JHK:FJ

(3)

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60 APR 1 1958

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237-Sub-28)

DATE: April 23, 1958

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
IS - X

Rebulet October 9, 1957.

During the past thirty days this office has taken the following action regarding this program:

I. STEPS TO ENSURE SUCCESS OF PROGRAM

No change in this regard as the program is being continued on the basis of contacts throughout the territory in an effort to locate citizens council activity and develop informants therein.

II. STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AND EXPAND UPON THE PROGRAM

No additional steps have been taken in this regard as the program as presently operating appears to be ample.

III. RESULTS ACHIEVED UNDER THE PROGRAM

Since the inception of this program the Bureau has approved thirteen Confidential Sources, which are still being used, nine of which are located in Mississippi and four in Memphis. One other approved Confidential Source was discontinued during the past month.

There is one symbol number informant under this program in Nashville, Tennessee.

No informant symbol numbers have been assigned during the past thirty days, although [redacted] an informant on Ku Klux Klan activity at Nashville, is furnishing some information regarding the Davidson County Division of the Tennessee White Citizens Councils. b7D

IV. SUMMARY OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS ACHIEVED UNDER THE PROGRAM SINCE ITS INCEPTION

2- Bureau (105-34237-Sub-28) RM
1- Memphis (105-269)

JHK:FJ
(3)

105-34237-Sub-28-15
APR 28 1958

Me#105-269

Letter to Bureau 4-23-58

There has been no change in the accomplishments other than a continued development of approved sources and thorough effort to locate citizen council activities. Investigation to date has indicated that organized activity is practically dormant in Tennessee except in Memphis and Nashville.

This matter is being closely followed in this office.

- Mr. Williams

SAC, Memphis (105-269)

May 14, 1958

REC-26 Director, FBI (105-34237-28)

EX-138 CITIZENS COUNCILS
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Reurlet dated May 2, 1958.

[redacted] Bureau authority is granted to contact [redacted] regarding the possibility of that informant furnishing information regarding the Tennessee White Citizens Council. It should be made clear to the informant during the contact regarding this matter that the Bureau is not interested in the legitimate activities of citizens councils but is interested only in violations of laws within the Bureau's jurisdiction, particularly civil rights violations, or information concerning possible acts of violence.

b7D

Furnish Bureau promptly results of your contact with the informant.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-06-2011 BY 60324 UCRAW/SAB/SBS

1 - Bufile [redacted]

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
MAY 15 1958

b7D

NOTE ON YELLOW:

[redacted] is a member of [redacted] [redacted] in Nashville. He is a close associate of [redacted] the Tennessee White Citizens Council in Nashville and it is believed he could become a member easily. No information in Bufiles or in Memphis letter which would indicate this action inadvisable. [redacted] No arrest record located. Informant has been described as of good character, honest and reliable, Nothing of derogatory nature located in Bufiles.

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- Tolson _____
- Nichols _____
- Boardman _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Trotter _____
- Nease _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

CEW:dlh
5/14/58
(5)

MAY 15 5 37 PM '58

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
MAY 15 1958

MAIL ROOM

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: May 2, 1958

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
IS - X

Rebulet April 15, 1958.

Relative to the possibility of using Klan informants to furnish information regarding citizens councils, the following is set out:

TENNESSEE

Known Klan activity is limited to the Cities of Memphis and Nashville. Organized citizens council activity is also limited almost exclusively to those two cities.

Nashville

In Nashville there is the following informant coverage:

[Redacted]

b7D

This informant is [Redacted]

[Redacted] She is not a member of a citizens council. She has in the past obtained and furnished information concerning the activities of the Tennessee White Citizens Council, Davidson County Division, which is made up of the remnants of the followers of FREDERICK JOHN KASPER. This informant was able to furnish a list of names of persons who were possible members of that group.

In view of the opposition of the TFCG to the activities of FREDERICK JOHN KASPER and to the activities of the Tennessee White Citizens Council, it is not felt that the informant could successfully become a member of that group. However, she can and has of her own volition furnished information concerning their activities which she can obtain through contacts with certain of

- 2- Bureau (105-34237) - RM
 - 1- Memphis (105-269)
- JHK:FJ
(3)

105-34237-28-16

REC-17 23 MAY 5 1958

Handwritten signature and initials

Handwritten notes: 5-18-58 JHK:dlh

105-34237-108

Me#105-269

Letter to Bureau 5-2-58

their members. This informant is not in any way connected with the Klan; and is thoroughly opposed to the Klan.

[redacted]

This informant was [redacted]

[redacted] Nashville, Tennessee, and is now [redacted]

[redacted] Nashville. He has furnished information concerning the statements made to him by [redacted] one of the [redacted] Davidson County Division, Tennessee White Citizens Council, Nashville. [redacted] contacted the informant to ascertain the possibility of him [redacted] becoming a member of the [redacted]

[redacted] This informant has formerly lived in the same neighborhood where [redacted] now resides and it would not be at all out of the ordinary for him to make contact with [redacted] and possibly become a member of the Tennessee White Citizens Council, Davidson County Division.

[redacted]

PSI

This individual is an authorized PSI, who is being developed for the primary purpose of furnishing information relative to the Klans in Nashville. Along with [redacted]

[redacted] is [redacted] The potential of [redacted] is [redacted] believed to be limited. This organization is made up to a great extent of prominent people in Nashville and throughout the state who are interested in a legal approach to the retention of segregation. [redacted] who is thoroughly familiar with the activities of the TFCG, has described [redacted] as being a sincere but uneducated individual who has attended one or two meetings of the Davidson County Chapter of the TFCG. Although he is not a member of the Davidson County Division, Tennessee White Citizens Council, Nashville, it is possible he can be used to furnish information regarding that organization. It is noted that this latter group is believed to be a less responsible organization than the TFCG and, in fact, is actually more comparable to a Klan organization. At this time it is not believed that definite steps should

Me#105-269

Letter to Bureau 5-2-58

be taken to have [redacted] join the Tennessee White Citizens Council but that this should be evaluated during the next sixty days along with the development of [redacted] in order to more adequately determine his potential in this regard.

Memphis

In Memphis there are no symbol number Klan informants but there are the following Bureau approved PSI's:

b6
b7C
b7D



It is not believed that any overt action should be taken to use the above individuals to furnish information regarding citizens council activities at this time. It is noted that although the TFCG has numerous members in Memphis and Shelby County, and that the Association of Citizens Councils of Tennessee and the Pro-Southerners are meeting on a sporadic and poorly attended basis, that this activity is so negligible that it does not justify efforts to use these individuals in that type activity. It is believed that all three of them, if continued as PSI's, will normally report any information that may come to their attention regarding citizens council activity.

The above three individuals, as is true with all informants of this type which have been developed to date, are dedicated segregationists. They are willing to furnish information to this office regarding the Klan because of the potential for violence and all of them profess to be adamantly opposed to violence. To start questioning them at this time regarding the TFCG, the P-S or the citizens council would possibly result in alienating them as they feel that the citizens councils have never been engaged in any violence. In order to win their cooperation relative to the Klan, the interviewing Agents have studiously avoided questioning them relative to the little Klan activity which exists.

MISSISSIPPI

In that part of Mississippi covered by this office,

Me#105-269

no information has been obtained relative to any Klan activity whatsoever and, therefore, there are no Klan informants who could be used in connection with this project. No action will be taken relative to using any of the above individuals as informants of the citizens councils without specific Bureau authority. This office, however, is continuing to be alert for possibilities in this regard and will promptly advise the Bureau in the event any situation develops where any of the above informants or others subsequently developed appear to have any potential in regard to the citizens councils.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237-Sub-28)

DATE: May 23, 1958

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
IS - X

Rebulet October 9, 1957.

During the past thirty days this office has taken the following action regarding this program:

I. STEPS TO ENSURE SUCCESS OF PROGRAM

No change in this regard as the program is being continued on the basis of selective contacts throughout the territory in an effort to locate citizens council activity and develop informants therein. Cognizance has been taken of Bureau letter of May 5, 1958 to Assistant Attorney General W. WILSON WHITE, captioned "Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi; IS-X." The copy of this letter furnished the Memphis and New Orleans Offices instructed that in the future even more care and selection be used in submitting recommendations for interviews with members of the council in Mississippi. The Bureau's instructions in this regard have been furnished to all Agents in Mississippi working on this program.

II. STEPS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AND EXPAND UPON THE PROGRAM

No additional steps have been taken in this regard as the program as presently operating appears to be ample.

III. RESULTS ACHIEVED UNDER THE PROGRAM

Since the inception of this program the Bureau has approved fifteen Confidential Sources, which are still being used. Eleven of these sources are located in Mississippi and four are located in Tennessee.

There is one symbol number informant in Nashville, Tennessee regularly furnishing information under this program.

2- Bureau (105-34237-Sub-28) RM
1- Memphis (105-269)
JHK:FJ
(3)

REC- 95

MAY 26 1958

52 MAY 28 1958

EX-128

INT.

Me#105-269

Letter to Bureau 5-23-58

Pursuant to Bureau instructions, [] is being contacted for information regarding citizens council activity in Nashville. The addition of [] to this program was made on May 14, 1958, pursuant to Bulet of that date. b7D

IV. SUMMARY OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS ACHIEVED
UNDER THE PROGRAM SINCE ITS INCEPTION

No change.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-32437)

DATE: May 28, 1958

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-121)

43
15

SUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI
IS - X

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven copies of a memorandum suitable for dissemination concerning captioned matter, along with seven autostat copies of each page of the material described in the memorandum. Also seven copies of a memorandum is enclosed setting out the reliability of the informant used in this matter. One copy is submitted to the New Orleans Division for information.

T-1 mentioned in the enclosed memorandum, is [redacted] Clarksdale, Mississippi, who has furnished reliable information in the past. [redacted] is a Confidential Source and is a [redacted] his identity must be protected. He furnished the material described in enclosed memorandum to SA THOMAS S. HOPKINS on May 15, 1958.

b6
b7C
b7D

By separate communication this information is being disseminated to the Regional Offices of ONI, G-2 and OSI, whose offices cover the State of Mississippi.

- 2- Bureau (encl.-2) (105-34237) RM
- 1- New Orleans (encl.-3) RM
- 1- Memphis [redacted] (encl.-3)
- 1- Memphis (105-121)

WHL:FJ
(5)

ENCLOSURE 23

*100 copies sent to C.R. Davis - 6/13/58
1 cc. [unclear] 4786 as [unclear]*

*REC-23
6-17-58
[unclear]*

42-1-28-18

JUN 2 1958

66 JUN 17 1958



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Memphis, Tennessee
May 28, 1958

Re: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

On May 15, 1958, Memphis Confidential Informant T-1, an individual who has knowledge of certain phases of citizen council activities in the State of Mississippi, furnished to a representative of the Memphis FBI Division Office a letterhead of the "Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi," dated [redacted] enclosing therewith six pages of [redacted] Mississippi State Laws relating to voters registration and access to information concerning same by outsiders, including representatives of the Federal Government.

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] the signer of the six pages of [redacted] is listed in the cover letter as being a member of the State Executive Committee of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi.

Attached hereto, with each copy of instant memorandum, is an autostatic copy of the above described documents.

This is loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

COPIES DESTROYED
21 APR 27 1972

ICC: AAG Civil Rights Division
Form 6-94
previous request for info 6-13-58 ymw
no p. 2/2/58

105-37237-25-18

ENCLOSURE
I



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Memphis, Tennessee
May 28, 1958

Re: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

Memphis Confidential Informant T-1, mentioned in the memorandum attached, dated May 28, 1958 in the above captioned matter, has furnished reliable information in the past.

This is loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

COPIES DESTROYED

23 APR 27 1962

II. 105-34239-25-15
ENCLOSURE

Williams

SAC, Memphis (105-269)

June 19, 1958

Director, FBI (105-34237-28)

CITIZENS COUNCILS
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ReBulet May 14, 1958, in which authority was granted for your office to contact [redacted]

Reference is also made to Bulet to Atlanta dated June 13, 1958, captioned as above, copies to your office, discontinuing the program for developing sources in citizens councils.

In the event [redacted] has not already been contacted no contact should be made in line with instructions set forth in reBulet June 13, 1958. In the event he has already been contacted sulet results immediately.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-06-2011 BY 60324 UCBAW/SAB/SBS

1 [redacted] b7D

MAILED 11
JUN 19 1958
COMM - FBI

EX 105

- Tolson _____
- Nichols _____
- Boardman _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____

CFW:d1h *dlh*

(5)

REC- 65

105-34237-28-14

JUN 20 1958

MAIL ROOM

JUN 24 1958

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-34237-14

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237-Sub-28)

DATE: 6-24-58

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
IS - X

Rebulet June 13, 1958.

In view of the instructions in rebulet, instant program to develop informant coverage in citizens councils is being discontinued and monthly reports thereon will not be submitted. All Agents have been advised of this action and the Bureau's instructions to continue to furnish pertinent information to the Bureau. Sources which were previously developed under this program will be continued and will be contacted regularly.

2- Bureau (105-34237-Sub-28) RM
1- Memphis (105-269)
JHK:FJ
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-06-2011 BY 60324 UCBAW/SAB/SBS

105-34237-28-20
REC-25 JUN 27 1958

53 JUL 2 1958

INT. [Signature]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237-Sub-28) DATE: 7/11/58

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-269)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
IS - X

Rebulet dated 6/19/58, and Bulet dated 5/14/58.

[redacted] has already been contacted by SA FRANCIS W. NORWOOD regarding the possibility of that informant furnishing information concerning the Tennessee White Citizens Council. It was made clear to the informant during the contact that the Bureau was not interested in the legitimate activities of this group, but interested only in the violations of laws within the Bureau's jurisdiction, particularly Civil Rights violations, or information concerning possible acts of violence. The informant stated that he understood the Bureau's position on this without difficulty inasmuch as this is the same basis upon which he has been approached concerning information with regard to the activities of the Klan organizations of which he has been a member.

The informant has made attempts to contact [redacted] the Tennessee White Citizens Council, for the two-fold purpose of ascertaining information concerning the activities of the Tennessee White Citizens Council in Nashville, and to obtain further information concerning firearms which [redacted] previously alleged to the informant that he had in his possession. To date the informant has not been in contact with [redacted]

On 7/7/58, informant stated that although he had left word in several places for [redacted] to contact him, no contact had been made. He was instructed to make no further efforts to contact [redacted] but that if [redacted] should contact him as result of efforts already made, to furnish any information from [redacted] indicative of violence.

b6
b7C
b7D

b7D

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Memphis [redacted] (105-269)

FWN:FJ,MRS
(4)

105-34237-28-21

EX-124

JUL 11 11 22 AM '58

REC-96 JUL 14 1958

RECEIVED

Boyd

INT. SEC.

67 JUL 23 1958

ME #105-269

Previous experience with this informant has shown that he is reliable and adheres strictly to instructions given to him. He has shown ingenuity in obtaining information in a discreet manner, and it is not believed that he will do anything which might prove embarrassing to the Bureau.

The Bureau should note that the Tennessee White Citizens Council, which has headquarters in Nashville, is an affiliate of the Kasper Groups and is not to be confused with the White Citizens Councils Groups in other Southern states.

1 - Mr. Williams

July 14, 1958

SAC, Memphis (105-269)

Director, FBI (105-34237-28)

CITIZENS COUNCILS
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ReBulet dated June 19, 1958.

Bufiles fail to reflect receipt of information requested reBulet. Sulet information to reach the Bureau no later than July 21, 1958.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-06-2011 BY 60324 UCBAW/SAB/SBS

1 - [Redacted] b7D

EX-124

105-34237-28-22

REC-96 11 JUL 15 1958

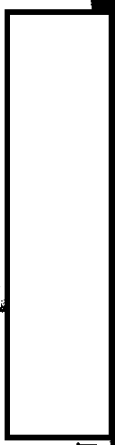
- Tolson _____
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- Boardman _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

CEW:d1h *[Handwritten Signature]*
(5)

[Handwritten Signature]
MAIL ROOM

COMM - FBI
JUL 14 1958
MAILED 27

77 JUL 18 1958



UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

- 2 - Original & copy
- 1 - yellow file copy
- 1 - 100-415862
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. L. E. Conroy, Room 4704
- 1 - J. S. Johnson, 331, OPO

August 18, 1958

SAC, Memphis (105-121)

Director, FBI (105-34237)

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS
COUNCILS OF TENNESSEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

It is requested that you discreetly obtain one copy of each future issue of "Southern School News" on a regular basis (in addition to the one copy now obtained) and forward it to the Bureau by routing slip, attention Central Research Section.

Arrangements for this publication should be handled in accordance with the instructions contained in SAC Letter No. 58-27 dated April 22, 1958.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

SA L. E. Conroy, Civil Rights Unit, Div. VI, advised that, in view of the possible crises which may arise in connection with integration in public schools, it is necessary that the Civil Rights Unit keep abreast of all pertinent developments in the school segregation field. Civil Rights Unit has daily need for information contained in "Southern School News." Publication will be retained by Mr. Conroy.

MAILED 31
AUG 18 1958
COMM-FBI

REC-80
AUG 18 10 35 AM '58
AUG 19 1958
AUG 27 1958
AUG 28 1958

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Handwritten notes and signatures on the right margin.

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Nease _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

AMB:aml
(8) *aml*

380

AUG 22 1958

Handwritten initials 'R'

Handwritten initials 'WAS' and 'AMS'

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 25 1958

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

DeLoach
Baughman

URGENT 8-25-58 7-00 PM CST JWB

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, MEMPHIS 1P

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS, IS - X. ON AUGUST TWENTYFOUR

LAST FREDERICK JOHN KASPER ATTENDED A FORUM ON DESEGREGATION,

NASHVILLE, TENN. HELD AT NEGRO CHURCH. DURING

FORUM PD RECEIVED ANONYMOUS CALL THAT BOMB WAS IN INSTANT

CHURCH. CHURCH CLEARED AND SEARCH THEREOF FAILED TO

LOCATE SUCH BOMB. LOCAL AUTHORITIES OF OPINION ALLEGATION

REGARDING BOMB WAS TO INSURE PUBLICITY CONCERNING KASPER-S

ATTENDANCE AT FORUM. FORUM WAS ORDERLY AND KASPER DID

NOT PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSION. DETAILS BEING SUBMITTED

BY AIRTEL WITH MEMO SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. INDIANAPOLIS,

LOUISVILLE, RICHMOND AND WFO ADVISED BY MAIL.

105-34237-27-27
DeLoach

~~E CORR LINE FIVE WORD SEX SHD BE~~ THEREOF

16 AUG 27 1958

END AND C ACK PLS

9-04PM OK FBI WA CRA

TU

cc-Baughman

REC-68
No Dissem.
In public press

INSEC.

67 SEP 3 1958

Mr. DeLoach

January 23, 1959

SAC, Memphis (105-121)

Director, FBI (105-34237)

REC-32

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS
OF MISSISSIPPI
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurmemo 1-15-59. Future
communications should be characterized as "Racial
Matters."

1 - New Orleans

WLM:ers
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-06-2011 BY 60324 UCBAW/SAB/SBS

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- e. Room _____
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MAILED 31
JAN 23 1959

52 JAN 23 1959
WLM

MAIL ROOM

105-34237

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 1-15-59

FROM: SAC, Memphis (105-121)

OCitizens Councils

SUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IS - X

MISS

On 1-2-59, ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Executive Secretary of captioned group, 207 W. Market Street, Greenwood, Mississippi, furnished SA GEORGE A. EVERETT with the following names of the 1959 Executive Committee, together with occupational information, who were selected at a series of regional meetings:

FIRST DISTRICT

J.O. SAMS, Attorney, Columbus, Mississippi
W.B. LUCAS, Attorney and State Senator, Macon, Miss.
N.E. DACUS, drug manufacturer, Tupelo, Miss.
SHELBY WOODWARD, Chancery Court Clerk, Louisville, Miss.

SECOND DISTRICT

Z.M. VEAZEY, JR., merchant and cattleman, Coldwater, Miss.
JOHN C. LAKE, Pres. of Grenada Industries, hosiery manufacturer, Grenada, Miss.
MAURICE BLACK, Attorney and State Representative, Carrollton, Miss.
Rev. JOHN L. PIPKIN, Minister, Blue Mountain, Miss.

THIRD DISTRICT

DONALD KITCHING, farmer, Merigold, Miss.
WILBURN HOOKER, farming, insurance, State Senator, Lexington, Miss.
FRED JONES, farming, former State Senator, Inverness, Miss.
KENNETH WILLIAMS, farming, merchant, Clarksdale, Miss.

FOURTH DISTRICT

TOM P. BRADY, Circuit Court Judge, Brookhaven, Miss

2- Bureau (105-34237)
1- New Orleans (info)
1- Memphis (105-121)
GAE:FJ

(4)

REC-25

105-34237-28-25

2 JAN 19 1959

EX-104

6-K...

Assoc. of Citizens' Councils

Me#105-121

Letter to Bureau 1-15-59

ALBERT GARDNER, Attorney, State Representative,
Yazoo City, Miss.
LUCIEN GWIN, Attorney, Natchez, Miss.
ELLIS W. WRIGHT, funeral director, Jackson, Miss.

FIFTH DISTRICT

W.H. JOHNSON, JR., Attorney, State Representative,
State Sovereignty Commission employee,
Decatur, Miss.
JIM B. COLLIER, insurance and finance, Meridian, Miss.
H.H. HARPOLE, employee Public Service Commission,
Philadelphia, Miss.
MARION SIMPSON, Sheriff of Madison County, Canton, Miss

SIXTH DISTRICT

DEWEY MYERS, merchant, Prentiss, Miss.
WARD HURT, manufacturer, Lumberton, Miss.
ROBERT OSWALD, Attorney, Secretary, Young Democrats
of Miss., Pascagoula, Miss.
J. E. STOCKSTILL, Attorney, Picayune, Miss.

No investigation of this association is being conducted by Memphis, but SA EVERETT periodically talks to PATTERSON for the purpose of maintaining contact with him and the ACCM.

There is being submitted under separate cover, by routing slip, to the Central Research Section, a packet of material received by SA EVERETT from PATTERSON, purporting to be material sent to the general mailing list of the ACCM during the calendar year 1958. One copy of this material is being kept in the Memphis file.

Routing Slip
FD-4 (8-18-54)

To

Director

SAC

ASAC

Supv.

Agent

SE

CC

Steno

Clerk

Date

FILE # ME 105-121

Title

ASSN. OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS
OF MISS.
MEMPHIS

Handwritten: 6: pm

ACTION DESIRED

- Reassign to
- Initial & return
- Open Case
- Send Serials
- Search & return
- Expedite
- Submit report by
- Recharge serials
- Correct
- Submit new charge-out
- Prepare tickler
- Call me
- Leads need attention
- Return serials
- See me
- Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.
- Acknowledge
- Type
- Bring file
- File
- Delinquent

REC-17 105-34237-28-26-

Attached packet of material received 1-2-59 from ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Exec. Secy., ACCM, by SA GEORGE A. EVERETT, purporting to be ~~material sent to~~ general mailing list of ACCM during calendar year 1958. One copy each item retained Memphis 23 1959

56 ENCLOSURE

ENCL. BEHIND FILE

SAC

Office

MEMPHIS

CENTRAL RESEARCH

8-138

67 JAN 29 1959

REC-17

Communism

and the

NAACP

Vol. 2

Preface

The information contained in this publication was presented under oath by Doctor J. B. Matthews at a public hearing of the Florida Legislation Investigation Committee, on Monday, February 10, 1958 at the State Capitol, in Tallahassee, Fla.

The Florida Legislation Investigation Committee is a legislative investigating committee authorized under the Florida law to compel the attendance of witnesses and their testimony under oath.

The Georgia Commission of Education has previously published Volume I of this hearing. This volume contains the listings of the Communist affiliations of the national leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Georgia Commission on Education
220 Agriculture Building
19 Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

15 OR MORE INCIDENTS EACH

Edward L. Parsons (Protestant Episcopal bishop).....	108
Robert W. Kenny (California attorney).....	101
Guy Emery Shipler (Protestant Episcopal clergyman)	76
Earl B. Dickerson (Chicago attorney).....	65
Roger N. Baldwin (American Civil Liberties Union).....	64
John Howland Lathrop (Unitarian clergyman).....	62
Algernon D. Black (Society for Ethical Culture leader)	60
Van Wyck Brooks (author).....	59
Freda Kirchwey (editor of "The Nation").....	59
Eleanor Roosevelt.....	56
Bartley Crum (San Francisco attorney).....	56
George L. Paine (Protestant Episcopal clergyman).....	50
Henry Hitt Crane (Methodist clergyman).....	46
Max Lerner (newspaper columnist and professor).....	43
Channing H. Tobias (Methodist clergyman).....	43
James H. Wolfe (chief justice of Utah Supreme Court)	43
Osmond K. Fraenkel (New York attorney).....	41
Archibald MacLeish (poet and university professor).....	38
A. Philip Randolph (labor union president).....	38
Frank P. Graham (university president, ex-U. S. senator).....	37
G. Bremley Oxnam (Methodist bishop).....	36
John Haynes Holmes (Unitarian clergyman).....	35
W. J. Walls (Methodist bishop).....	34
Reinhold Nisbuh (clergyman and theological professor)	34
Roscoe Dunjee (Oklahoma newspaper editor).....	33
Benjamin F. Mays (college president and clergyman)	31
Edwin McNeil Poteat (Baptist clergyman).....	30
George S. Counts (university professor).....	29
William Lloyd Imes (Presbyterian clergyman).....	29
Rufus E. Clement (university president and clergyman)	27
Lewis S. Garnett (newspaper columnist).....	26
Oscar Hammerstein II (theatrical lyrics writer).....	25
John Hammond (businessman).....	23
S. Ralph Harlow (college professor and clergyman).....	23
Henry W. Hobson (Protestant Episcopal bishop).....	23
Albert Sprague Coolidge (university professor).....	22
Edward L. Young (physician).....	22
Hubert T. Delany (New York attorney).....	20
Horace M. Kallen (educator).....	20
Albert C. Dieffenbach (Unitarian clergyman).....	19
Frank Kingdon (Methodist clergyman).....	19
Loran Miller (Los Angeles attorney).....	19
Norman Thomas (socialist leader).....	19
Albert E. Barnett (theological professor, clergyman).....	16
H. Claude Hudson (Los Angeles educator).....	15
Henry Smith Leiper (Presbyterian clergyman).....	15

Mrs. Ernest Alexander, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) National Negro Congress—endorser—call, February 14, 1936

Roger N. Baldwin, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) All-America Anti-Imperialist League—member of national committees—letterhead, April 11, 1928

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—supporter of Collier Bill—"Daily Worker," April 11, 1938, page 5

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—member of advisory board—letterhead, January 1940

(4) American Committee for Struggle Against War—member—"Struggle Against War," June 1933, page 2

(5) American Congress for Peace and Democracy—endorser—call, January 6-8, 1939

(6) American Friends of the Chinese People—participant in mass meeting—"New Masses," October 5, 1937, page 30

(7) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—member of executive committee—letterhead, February 21, 1938

(8) American Fund for Public Service—member of board of directors—Appendix IX, page 384

(9) American League for Peace and Democracy—endorser of conference—"Daily Worker," January 11, 1938, page 2

(10) American League for Peace and Democracy—member of national committee—letterhead, July 12, 1939

(11) American League Against War and Fascism—contributor to "Fight — Fight," November 1933, page 10; September 1937, page 18

(12) American League Against War and Fascism—member of national bureau—"Fight," April 1934, page 14

(13) American League Against War and Fascism—member of national executive committee—letterhead, August 22, 1935

(14) American League Against War and Fascism—speaker at conference—"Daily Worker," February 27, 1937, page 2

(15) American League Against War and Fascism—participant in mass meeting—"New Masses," October 5, 1937, page 30

(16) American Student Union—member of sponsoring committee—"Student Advocate," February 1937, page 2

(17) American Student Union—speaker at fourth national convention—"Student Almanac," 1939, page 32

(17) American Youth Congress—member of national advisory committee—pamphlet, 1936; letterhead, July 4, 1937

(18) Anti-Nazi Federation of New York—U.S.A. supporter—letterhead, 1940

(19) Book Union—advisory council member—letterhead, undated

(20) Chicago Sobell Committee—signer of scroll presented to Urey at dinner, February 12, 1955—House Committee report, "Trial by Treason," page 124

Roger N. Baldwin—Con't.

(21) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—appealed to President Roosevelt on behalf of Browder—leaflet, 1942

(22) Committee to Aid the Striking Fleischer Artists—affiliated with—letterhead, undated

(23) Consumers National Federation—sponsor—pamphlet, December/11-12, 1937

(24) Friends of the Soviet Union—member of reception committee—letterhead, September 1929

(25) Friends of the Soviet Union—contributor to "Soviet Russia Today—Soviet Russia Today," September 1934, page 11

(26) Frontier Films—member of advisory board—letterhead, undated

(27) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—speaker at conference—program, February 12, 1940

(28) Henri Barbusse Memorial Committee—chairman—"New Masses," September 29, 1936, page 31

(29) International Committee for Political Prisoners—member of general committee—letterhead, June 1936

(30) International Labor Defense—speaker—"New Masses," April 2, 1935, page 46

(31) International Workers Order—speaker at rally—"Fraternal Outlook," June-July 1940, page 15

(32) Joint Committee for the Defense of the Brazilian People—signer of cable—Appendix IX, page 949

(33) Labor Defense Council—member of national executive committee—"Voice of Labor," October 20, 1922, page 12

(34) Labor Defense Council—committee member—letterhead, April 6, 1923

(35) "Liberator"—contributing editor—"Liberator," January 25, 1930

(36) Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy—member of executive committee—letterhead, November 18, 1936

(37) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—member of executive board—booklet, 1938

(38) Mother Bloor Celebration Committee—sponsor of banquet; sent greetings—program, January 24, 1936, pages 7, 9

(39) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, October 13, 1947

(40) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, May 25, 1952

(41) National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism—U.S.A. supporter—letterhead, July 3, 1934

(42) National Committee Friends of the Soviet Union—endorser of—"Soviet Russia Today," December 1933, page 17

(43) National Committee to Aid Striking Miners Fighting Starvation—sponsor—letterhead, January 30, 1933

(44) National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance—sponsor—leaflet, January 5-7, 1935

(45) National Mooney Council of Action—member—"Daily Worker," May 12, 1933, page 2

Roger N. Baldwin—Con't.

- (46) National Peoples Committee Against Hearst—member—letterhead, March 16, 1937
- (47) National Scottsboro Action Committee—member of executive committee—"Daily Worker," May 3, 1933, page 2
- (48) National Student League—signer of call for support—"Daily Worker," September 28, 1932, page 2
- (49) "New Masses"—contributor—"New Masses," April 2, 1935, page 13; November 16, 1937, page 20
- (50) "New Masses"—sent letter—"New Masses," May 13, 1941, page 23; August 26, 1947, page 17
- (51) New York Professional Workers Conference on Social Insurance—speaker—leaflet, December 20, 1934
- (52) New York Tom Mooney Committee—sponsor—letterhead, June 5, 1939
- (53) North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—sponsor—"New Masses," September 28, 1937, page 28
- (54) People's Congress for Democracy and Peace—member of national bureau—letterhead, November 3, 1937
- (55) Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee—trustee—letterhead, January 18, 1935
- (56) Prisoners Relief Fund of International Labor Defense—member—leaflet, undated
- (57) Protest Against Verdict of Guilty in Case of 11 Communist Leaders—spoke out against verdict—"Worker," October 30, 1949, page 3
- (58) Russian Reconstruction Farms—member of advisory board—letterhead, March 20, 1926
- (59) Supports Dissenting Opinions of Black and Douglas Toward Smith Act—statement—"Masses & Mainstream," August 1951, page 14
- (60) Testimonial Dinner to Carol King—sent message—"Lamp," April 1948, page 4
- (61) United Anti-Nazi Council—speaker—"Daily Worker," May 12, 1938, page 2
- (62) United States Congress Against War—member of arrangements committee—letterhead, November 1, 1933
- (63) Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—signer of open letter asking President Eisenhower to call off H-Bomb tests—New York "Times," May 7, 1956, page 21; "Daily Worker," May 8, 1956, pages 1, 8
- (64) Work Camps for America—speaker—pamphlet, 1940

Albert E. Barnett, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) American Peace Mobilization—signer of letter to President Roosevelt to appeal militant foreign policy—"Daily Worker," January 10, 1941, page 1
- (2) Chicago Ad Hoc Committee of Welcome for the Dean of Canterbury—member—folder, November 1948
- (3) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of statement to President Truman—press release, December 14, 1949
- (4) Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson—member—"Daily Worker," September 22, 1948, page 5

Albert E. Barnett—Con't.

- (5) Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, August 21, 1949
 - (6) Highlander Folk School—member of Chicago committee—letterhead, March 4, 1947
 - (7) Methodist Federation for Social Action—delegate to Kansas City meeting—leaflet, December 27, 1947
 - (8) Methodist Federation for Social Action—signer of statement defending MFSA after Kansas City meeting—leaflet, December 27-29, 1947
 - (9) Methodist Federation for Social Action—nominee for executive committee—ballot, "Social Questions Bulletin," February-March, 1949, page 46; June 1950, page 27
 - (10) Methodist Federation for Social Service—vice president of Alabama conference; nominee for national committee—ballot, 1945, page 3
 - (11) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—sponsor and discussion leader—call, May 29-30, 1950
 - (12) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors—program of conference, April 8, 1950; letterhead, July 1954; April 1955; November 1, 1956
 - (13) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of petition to Senator Hennings—letterhead, November 7, 1955
 - (14) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor of southwestern regional conference on integration—folder, May 17, 1955
 - (15) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor of open letter on civil rights legislation—"Southern Patriot," September 1957, page 2
 - (16) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—signer—press release, October 31, 1947
- Robbins W. Barstow, NAACP Committee of 100:**
- (1) "Protestant"—sponsor—letterhead, January 22, 1941
 - (2) Protestant Digest Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—leaflet, February 25, 1941

Daisy Bates

- (1) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor of open letter on civil rights legislation—"Southern Patriot," September 1957, page 2

Viola W. Bernard, National Health Committee, NAACP:

- (1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter—"Lamp," June 1948, page 3
- (2) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," April 8, 1938, page 4
- (3) Committee of One Thousand—signer of letter urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities—"Daily Worker," January 3, 1949, page 7
- (4) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, October 13, 1947
- (5) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, May 25, 1952
- (6) "People's Press"—one of the owners of—"People's Press," October 23, 1937

Viola W. Bernard—Con't.

(7) Physicians' Forum—sponsor—program, October 8, 1949

Theodore M. Berry

(1) National Lawyers' Guild; 1939-1949—member—his statement, "Cincinnati Enquirer," October 4, 1951

Algernon D. Black, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of telegram—"Daily Worker," August 2, 1949, page 8

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter—"Daily Worker," August 10, 1950, page 5

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—"Daily Worker," April 4, 1951, page 8

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 20th anniversary national conference—letterhead, October 22, 1951

(5) American Committee to Save Refugees—sponsor—program, October 9, 1941

(6) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—sponsor—letterhead, January 7, 1946

(7) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—sponsor, Action Committee to Free Spain Now—letterhead, March 15, 1946

(8) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—member of committee—letterhead, February 21, 1938

(9) American Russian Institute—sponsor—dinner program, October 19, 1943

(10) American Russian Institute—endorser of campaign—folder, 1945

(11) American Russian Institute—member of inter-church committee—letterhead, May 8, 1947

(12) American Student Union—member of advisory board—pamphlet, 1938

(13) American Youth Congress—endorser of American Youth Act—undated press release

(14) Appeal for Amnesty for the Jailed Leaders of the Communist Party Convicted Under the Smith Act—signer—"Daily Worker," December 10, 1952, page 4

(15) Associated Film Audiences—member of executive board—undated letterhead

(16) Citizens Committee to Defend Labor—sponsor—"Daily Worker," May 3, 1947, page 3

(17) Citizens Committee to End Discrimination in Baseball—member—"Daily Worker," October 14, 1942, page 6

(18) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—member of executive committee—folder, September 25, 1943

(19) Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges—sponsor—letterhead, June 8, 1943

(20) City-Wide Citizens Committee on Harlem—co-chairman—"Daily Worker," November 29, 1943

(21) Committee to Aid the Striking Fleischer Artists—member—letterhead, 1938

(22) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—sponsor—program, January 23-25, 1948

Algernon D. Black—Con't.

(23) Committee of One Thousand—signer of open letter urging abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee—"Daily Worker," January 3, 1949, page 7

(24) Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson—member—"Daily Worker," September 22, 1948, page 5

(25) Conference Against Mundt and Ferguson Bills—sponsor—"Daily Worker," June 1, 1949, page 6

(26) Conference on Pan American Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, November 16, 1938

(27) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, August 21, 1949

(28) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, an auxiliary of North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—representative individual—folder, 1937

(29) Council on African Affairs—endorser of program—"New Africa," October 1945

(30) Dinner to Wallace—sponsor—program, September 12, 1949

(31) End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee—sponsor—letterhead, August 6, 1945

(32) Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers—sponsor—program, October 9, 1941

(33) "Far East Spotlight"—favored recognition of New China—"Far East Spotlight," December 1949-January 1950, page 25

(34) Film Audiences for Democracy—member of executive committee—letterhead, undated

(35) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—vice-chairman of executive committee—program, February 12, 1940

(36) International Workers Order—defender of—"Fraternal Outlook," November 1948, page 6

(37) League of American Writers—contributor of chapter to book—March 1939

(38) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—sponsor—call, May 29-30, 1950

(39) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, October 31, 1947; May 25, 1952

(40) National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill—sponsor—HCUA Report on the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, page 11

(41) National Conference on the German Problem—sponsor—official release, March 6, 1947

(42) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of statement calling for peaceful settlement of U. S.-U. S. S. R. differences—statement, June 23, 1948

(43) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of call—"Soviet Russia Today," July 1948, page 5

(44) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—sponsor—leaflet, March 1949

(45) National Emergency Conference—signer of call—program, May 13-14, 1939

(46) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of open letter asking the President to

Algernon D. Black—Con't.

rescind Biddle decision on Harry Bridges—booklet, July 11, 1942

(47) Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio—member—letterhead, October 3, 1936

(48) Progressive Citizens of America—vice-chairman of New York State chapter—folder, April 12, 1947

(49) Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee—signer of declaration—New York "Times," December 22, 1943

(50) Russian War Relief—member of religious committee—letterhead, 1943

(51) Save the Voice of Freedom Committee—associate chairman—folder, undated

(52) Statement to J. Howard McGrath asking Dismissal of Contempt Citations—signer—"Daily Worker," February 19, 1951, page 9

(53) Statement Against U. S. Policy in Mexico—signer—"Daily Worker," May 6, 1940

(54) United American Spanish Aid Committee—sponsor—program, October 9, 1941

(55) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—signer of open letter to President Roosevelt—"Daily Worker," March 4, 1943, page 4

(56) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sponsor of Action Committee to Free Spain Now—letterhead, March 15, 1946

(57) Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York—public sponsor—letterhead, May 13, 1946

(58) Veterans Committee Against Discrimination—sponsor—letterhead, January 24, 1946

(59) Voice of Freedom—sponsor—letterhead, April 12, 1951

(60) Wartime Budget Conference—sponsor—program, April 11, 1944

Sarah Gibson Blanding, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—member of program committee and sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace—program, March 25, 1949

(2) Plea to Eisenhower to Ease East-West Trade Curbs—signer—"Daily Worker," January 11, 1955, page 2

Jane M. Bolin, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter—"Lamp," August 1949, page 1

(2) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—sponsor—booklet, September 25, 1943

(3) Civil Rights Congress—sponsor—"People's Daily World," October 28, 1947, page 4

(4) Civil Rights Congress—sponsor of national conference—program, November 21-23, 1947

(5) Committee to Retail Gilgoff and Rosenbaum in the New York City School System—signer of statement—"Daily Worker," December 17, 1951, page 5

(6) Congress on Civil Rights—sponsor—call, April 27-28, 1946

Jane M. Bolin—Con't.

(7) Council on African Affairs—endorser of program—"New Africa," October 1945

(8) National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism—sponsor—press release, May 24, 1944

(9) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of committee of women—"Daily Worker," February 10, 1944, page 3

(10) National Mobilization—sponsor of national conference—"Daily Worker," March 5, 1946, page 3

(11) National Negro Conference—sponsor of 10th convention—program, May 30, 1946

(12) Physicians Forum—sponsor—program, October 8, 1949

(13) Win-the-Peace Conference—sponsor—letterhead, February 28, 1946

Harry Bragg, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) Citizens Emergency Conference on Interracial Unity—delegate—booklet, September 25, 1943

Van Wyck Brooks, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of petition to discontinue the Dies Committee—folder, January 17, 1940

(2) American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression—sponsor—letterhead, January 1940

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—letterhead, May 15, 1940; program of conference, March 29-30, 1941; program and call to conference, December 3-4, 1949

(4) American Committee to Save Refugees—signer of appeal—official leaflet, 1940

(5) American Committee to Save Refugees—sponsor of dinner-forum—official program, October 9, 1941

(6) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—sponsor—official folder, 1945

(7) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—sponsor—letterhead, January 7, 1946

(8) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—sponsor of Action Committee to Free Spain Now—letterhead, March 15, 1946

(9) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—sponsor—"Daily Worker," December 27, 1944, page 11

(10) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—signer of letter, "Daily Worker," April 8, 1938, page 4

(11) American League for Peace and Democracy—member of writers and artists committee—letterhead, April 6, 1939

(12) American Relief for Greek Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, November 19, 1946

(13) American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy—member of board of directors—"New Masses," January 26, 1937, page 32

(14) American Student Union—member of advisory board—leaflet, undated

(15) Appeal to Guard Civil Rights—signer—"Daily Worker," August 28, 1950, page 3

(16) Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression—signer of appeal—folder, February 25, 1938, page 1

Van Wyck Brooks—Con't.

- (17) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—sponsor—letterhead, January 31, 1948
- (18) Committee of One Thousand—signer of open letter urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities—"Daily Worker," January 3, 1949, page 7
- (19) Committee to Save Spain and China—sponsor—announcement, November 11, 1938
- (20) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—official booklet, 1937
- (21) Council for Pan American Democracy—signer of open letter to save Luis Carlos Prestes—"New Masses," December 3, 1940, page 28
- (22) W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee—sponsor—program, February 23, 1951
- (23) Exiled Writers Committee of League of American Writers—sponsor of dinner-forum—official program, October 9, 1941
- (24) Friends of Italian Democracy—member—program, April 17, 1947
- (25) Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union—sent greetings to the Soviet Union—"Soviet Russia Today," November 1937, page 79
- (26) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—sponsor—official program, February 12, 1940
- (27) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—signer of telegram—"Daily Worker," September 17, 1940, pages 1, 5
- (28) Hiroshima Commemorative Committee—sponsor—letterhead, July 21, 1955
- (29) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—initiating sponsor—letterhead, December 21, 1944
- (30) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—participant in panel discussion—"Independent," June 1945, page 13
- (31) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—member of board of directors—letterhead, April 12, 1946
- (32) Jewish Black Book Committee—sponsor—pamphlet, undated
- (33) League of American Writers—contributor—official booklet, undated
- (34) League of American Writers—attended meeting of—bulletin of LAW, Summer 1938, page 2
- (35) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—member of writers and artists committee—booklet, 1938, page 2
- (36) Nation Associates—vice-chairman of dinner-forum—program, May 25, 1952
- (37) National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism—sponsor—news release, May 24, 1944
- (38) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of congress—"Soviet Russia Today," December 1942, page 42
- (39) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of U.S.-Soviet friendship celebrations—"Daily Worker," November 12, 1944, page 8

Van Wyck Brooks—Con't.

- (40) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor—letterhead, March 13, 1946; "Soviet Russia Today," March 1947, page 2; letterhead, January 7, 1948
- (41) National Emergency Conference—signer of call—official folder, May 13-14, 1939
- (42) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—sponsor—letterhead, February 15, 1940
- (43) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of message opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—folder, January 1943
- (44) National Writers Congress—signer of call—"New Masses," May 4, 1937, page 25
- (45) Neruda Defense—member—"Daily Worker," April 7, 1948, page 13
- (46) "New Masses"—contributor—"New Masses," June, 1928, page 3
- (47) Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio—member—letterhead, October 3, 1936
- (48) Progressive Citizens of America—vice-chairman—"Daily Worker," December 30, 1946, page 12.
- (49) Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee—signer of declaration—New York "Times," December 22, 1943, page 40
- (50) Schappes Defense Committee—signer of open letter to Governor Dewey—New York "Times," October 9, 1944, page 12
- (51) "Soviet Russia Today"—issued statement in support of U. S. S. R.—"Soviet Russia Today," November 1941, page 15
- (52) United American Spanish Aid Committee—sponsor of dinner-forum—official program, October 9, 1941
- (53) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—signer of protest—"Daily Worker," February 21, 1940
- (54) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—signer of open letter to President Roosevelt—"Daily Worker," March 4, 1943, page 4
- (55) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sponsored and supported statement calling for break with Franco Spain—New York "Times," March 3, 1945
- (56) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sponsor of Action Committee to Free Spain Now—letterhead, March 15, 1946
- (57) Washington Committee to Life the Spanish Embargo—sponsor—New York "Times," January 31, 1939
- (58) Western Writers Congress—attended—"Daily Worker," May 31, 1937, page 7
- (59) Writers and Artists Committee for Medical Aid to Spain—sponsor—folder, undated

Ralph J. Bunche, Board of Directors, NAACP:

- (1) Institute of Pacific Relations—attended Mont Tremblant Conference, December 4-14, 1942—IPR hearings, page 4977
- (2) Institute of Pacific Relations—member of "private IPR discussion group of United Nations Cooperation, March 15, 1943, Washington, D. C.—IPR Hearings, page 440
- (3) Institute of Pacific Relations—attended "Pre-

Ralph J. Bunche—Con't.

liminary Meeting of the American Delegation of the Institute of Pacific Relations, October 29, 1944"—IPR Hearings, pages 990-995

(4) Institute of Pacific Relations—delegate to IPR conference at Hot Springs, Virginia, January 5-19, 1945—IPR Hearings, page 5703

(5) Institute of Pacific Relations—member, October 1946—IPR Hearings, page 5700

(6) Institute of Pacific Relations—statement by William L. Holland listing Bunche as "active in the Washington IPR branch"—IPR Hearings, page 1220

(7) International Committee on African Affairs—member—letterhead, November 1939

(8) National Negro Congress—endorser and member of national executive council—call, February 14, 1936

(9) "Science & Society"—contributing editor—Spring 1937 through Spring 1940

(10) "Science & Society"—book reviewer—Spring 1939, p. 270

(11) Washington Committee for Democratic Action—sponsor—letterhead, April 26, 1940

(12) "Worker"—praised in report on NAACP meeting—"Worker," August 7, 1949, page 7

Charles Bunn, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) Wisconsin State Conference on Social Legislation—member of sponsoring committee—booklet, April 13-14, 1940

Mrs. Samuel McCrae Cavert, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression—sponsor—letterhead, January 1940

(2) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—signer of letter for—"Daily Worker," February 16, 1938, page 2

(3) American Youth Congress—sponsor—pamphlet, 1936

(4) American Youth Congress—member of national advisory board—program of 4th congress, July 4, 1937

(5) American Youth Congress—sponsor of model youth legislature—program, January 28-30, 1938

(6) American Youth Congress—sponsor of 5th congress—program, July 1-5, 1939

(7) World Youth Congress—observer—program, August 16-23, 1938

(8) Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign—sponsor—letterhead, March 27, 1940

Russell L. Cecil, National Health Committee, NAACP:

(1) Petition to President Eisenhower Urging Fundamental Changes in the Federal Loyalty-Security Program—sponsor—"Physicians Forum Bulletin," September 1955, pages 13-16

Allan Knight Chalmers, Treasurer and Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—sponsor—program, February 12, 1940

(2) Melish Brief "Amici Curiae"—singer—U. S. Supreme Court, January 11, 1951

Allan Knight Chalmers—Con't.

(3) Protestant Digest Associates—sponsor of call to dinner-forum—leaflet, February 25, 1941

(4) Rosenberg Clemency Appeal—signer of letter to President Eisenhower to commute death sentences—press release, February 13, 1953

(5) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—sponsor and signer—press release, October 31, 1947

Bernard C. Clausen, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of letter—letterhead, May 26, 1940

(2) "Protestant"—editorial adviser—"Protestant," December-January 1942; June-July 1942; August-September 1942

(3) "Protestant Digest"—editorial adviser—"Protestant Digest," February 1940; June-July 1941; letterhead, December 27, 1939; October 7, 1941

(4) Protestant Digest Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—call, February 25, 1941

Rufus E. Clement, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of petition to discontinue the Dies Committee—petition, January 17, 1940

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of statement—"Daily Worker," October 28, 1940

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of fifth national conference—program, March 29, 1941

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of birthday greeting to Sabbath—"Lamp," May-1946, page 3

(5) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter for—"Lamp," June 1946, page 3

(6) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—program, October 27, 1946

(7) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 1947 national conference—program, October 25-26, 1947.

(8) American Committee to Save Refugees—sponsor—folder, 1940; letterhead, October 1941

(9) American Council on Soviet Relations—signer of open letter urging declaration of war on Finland—folder, circa 1940

(10) Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee—supporter—New York "Times," March 14, 1946

(11) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—sponsor—program, January 23-25, 1948

(12) Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson—member—"Daily Worker," September 22, 1948, page 5

(13) Congress on Civil Rights—sponsor—program, April 27-28, 1946

(14) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—initiating sponsor—letter-

Rufus E. Clement—Con't.

head, December 21, 1944; March 12, 1945; April 12, 1946

(15) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—national sponsor—1948 California report, page 271

(16) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—"PM," May 12, 1944, page 3; letterhead, March 8, 1946

(17) National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East—affiliated with—"Review of Scientific and Cultural" Conference, page 24

(18) National Conference on the Foreign Born in Post-War America—sponsor—letterhead, January 1946

(19) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—sponsor of Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace—program, March 25-27, 1949

(20) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Worker," March 18, 1945, pages 1-3, magazine section

(21) Protestant Digest Statement Denouncing Lindbergh—signer—"Daily Worker," September 27, 1941, page 1

(22) Southern Conference Educational Fund—endorser of declaration—folder, November 20, 1948

(23) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor and participant in first southwide conference on discrimination in higher education—program, April 8, 1950

(24) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—member of southern council—official report, November 20-23, 1938

(25) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—member of executive board and panel consultant—official report, 1942

(26) Southern Negro Youth Congress—affiliated with—"Review of Scientific and Cultural Conference," page 34

(27) Win-the-Peace Conference—sponsor—call, April 5-7, 1946

W. Montague Cobb, Chairman of National Health Committee and Member of Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee—sponsor—program, February 23, 1951

(2) Physicians Forum—member of board of directors—letterhead, February 16, 1951

(3) Statement Against the Munda-Nixon Bill—signer of ad—Washington "Post," May 18, 1948, page 15

Fanny Travis Cochran, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) Pennsylvania Congress for American Liberties—signer of call and sponsor—call and program, February 22, 1941

Albert Sprague Coolidge, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Association of Scientific Workers—member of executive committee of Boston-Cambridge branch—news letter of American Association of Scientific Workers, August-September 1942

(2) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—affiliated with—Appendix IX, page 380

Albert Sprague Coolidge—Con't.

(3) American Student Union—member of sponsoring committee—"Student Advocate," February 1937, page 2

(4) Cable in Defense of Luis Carlos Prestes—signer, February 13, 1937—Appendix IX, page 1473

(5) Christmas Amnesty Plea for Communists Convicted Under the Smith Act—signed of petition to President Eisenhower—New York "Times," December 21, 1955, page 20

(6) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—sponsor of appeal—letterhead, 1942

(7) Council for Pan American Democracy—signer of open letter to save Luis Carlos Prestes—"New Masses," December 3, 1940, page 28

(8) Council for Pan American Democracy—signer of open letter appealing for freedom of political prisoners—press release, June 8, 1945

(9) Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians—contributing editor of "Technical America"—Appendix IX, page 703

(10) Greater Boston Peace Strike Committee—sponsor—program, April 22, 1937

(11) League for Mutual Aid—member of advisory committee—letterhead, March 11, 1938

(12) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, October 13, 1947

(13) National Citizens Political Action Committee—member—official list, August 28, 1944

(14) National Emergency Conference—signer of call and sponsor—program, May 13, 1939

(15) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—sponsor—letterhead, February 15, 1940

(16) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Worker," March 18, 1945, page 2

(17) National Share-Croppers Fund—member of board—1948 California report, page 334

(18) Open Letter on Immigration Laws—signer—"Lamp," June 1946, page 3

(19) Petition for the Pardon of Carl Marzani—signer—"Daily Worker," July 13, 1950, page 4

(20) Protest Against the Report of the Massachusetts Legislative Investigating Committee—signer—"Daily Worker," June 11, 1938, page 3

(21) Statement Condemning Congressional Investigations—signer—"UE News," January 1, 1949, page 6

(22) Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo—signer of open letter—New York "Times," January 31, 1939

George S. Counts, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—sponsor—program, April 13, 1940

(2) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signed of letter—letterhead, May 26, 1940

(3) American Committee for International Student Congress Against War and Fascism—endorser—call, December 29-31, 1934

George S. Counts—Con't.

- (4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—letterhead, March 2-3, 1940
- (5) American Friends of the Chinese People—member of national advisory board—letterhead, May 16, 1940
- (6) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," April 8, 1938, page 4
- (7) American Institute of Pacific Relations—member of executive committee, 1932-1936—hearings on IPR, page 1219
- (8) American League Against War and Fascism—member of national executive committee—letterhead, August 22, 1935; November 3, 1937
- (9) American League Against War and Fascism—speaker—handbill, April 3, 1938
- (10) American Pushkin Committee—sponsor—letterhead, 1937
- (11) American Russian Institute—member of board of directors—letterhead, July 23, 1937; July 14, 1938
- (12) American Student Union—member of advisory board—application blank, undated
- (13) American Youth Congress—endorser of American Youth Act—press release, undated
- (14) "China Today"—signer of statement—"China Today," February 1935, page 90
- (15) Conference on Pan American Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, November 16, 1938
- (16) Consumers National Federation—sponsor—official leaflet, December 11-12, 1937
- (17) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—official booklet, 1937
- (18) Films for Democracy—member of organization committee—letterhead, January 5, 1938
- (19) Moscow University—member of national advisory council—summer session 1935
- (20) National Committee Against Censorship of the Theatre Arts—member—pamphlet, 1935
- (21) National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners—member—letterhead, circa 1937
- (22) National Committee, Friends of the Soviet Union—endorser—"Soviet Russia Today," December 1933, page 17
- (23) National Committee for Peoples Rights—member—folder, undated
- (24) "New Masses"—speaker—"New Masses," May 22, 1934, page 2
- (25) New Theatre of Philadelphia—sponsor—"New Theatre," May 1935, page 5
- (26) New York Tom Mooney Committee—sponsor—letterhead, June 5, 1939
- (27) People's Congress for Democracy and Peace—member of national executive committee—letterhead, November 3, 1937
- (28) Soviet Propaganda Film Group—member of committee which selected the group to go to Russia—New York "Herald Tribune," June 14, 1932
- (29) Student Congress Against War—member of national committee—program, December 27-29, 1932

Norman Cousins, Vice President, NAACP:

- (1) "Mainstream"—sponsor—"New Masses," October 28, 1947, page 2
- (2) National Committee on Atomic Information—member of committee of sponsors—"Atomic Information," October 20, 1946, page 2

Henry Hitt Crane, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of letter—letter, May 26, 1940
- (2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—letterhead, September 11, 1941
- (3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of birthday greeting to Sabath—"Lamp," May 1946, page 3
- (4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of letter to Truman urging halting deportation of Communists—"Worker," April 1, 1951, page 4
- (5) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter—"Daily Worker," March 31, 1955, page 8
- (6) American Peace Crusade—initiator of referendum—"Daily Worker," August 22, 1952, page 3
- (7) American Welcoming Committee for World Peace Delegation—signer of protest against refusal of visas to Communist delegates—press release, March 2, 1950
- (8) Amnesty Appeal on Behalf of Communist Party Leaders—signer—"Daily Worker," December 10, 1952, page 4
- (9) Amnesty Appeal for Carl Winter—sponsor—"Daily Worker," July 2, 1953, page 8
- (10) Brief "Amici Curiae" for the Communist Party—initiator and signer—U. S. Supreme Court, October 1955
- (11) Chicago Sobell Committee—signer of scroll presented to Urey at dinner, February 12, 1955—House Committee report, "Trial by Treason," page 124
- (12) Christmas Amnesty Plea for Communist Convicted Under the Smith Act—signer of petition to President Eisenhower—New York "Times," December 21, 1955, page 20
- (13) Church Peace Mission—signer of statement on nuclear weapons tests—press release, December 2, 1957
- (14) Civil Rights Institute—speaker and sponsor—program, December 1, 1939
- (15) Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell—signer of appeal—"That Justice Shall Be Done," August 1957, page 2
- (16) Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, August 21, 1949
- (17) Council for Pan American Democracy—signer—"Daily Worker," February 14, 1944, page 2
- (18) Detroit Committee for Justice in the Rosenberg Case—signer of message urging clemency—"Daily Worker," December 26, 1952, page 6
- (19) W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee—sponsor—program, February 23, 1951
- (20) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—sponsor—"Daily Worker," January 20, 1953, page 2

Henry Hitt Crane—Con't.

- (21) Live and Let Live—signer of letter to members of Congress—letter, February 15, 1956
- (22) Methodist Federation for Social Action—signer of statement defending MFSA after Kansas City meeting—leaflet, December 27-29, 1947
- (23) Methodist Federation for Social Action—name on ballot of—"Social Questions Bulletin," February-March 1949; mimeographed ballot, September 2, 1953
- (24) Methodist Federation for Social Service—member of executive committee—letterhead, April 12, 1946
- (25) Michigan Peace Ballot Committee—sponsor—"Daily Worker," September 24, 1952, page 2
- (26) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—speaker—"Daily Worker," May 31, 1950, page 9
- (27) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—sponsor—call, May 29-30, 1950
- (28) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—sponsor—"Daily Worker," December 27, 1950, page 9
- (29) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of statement for—open letter, January 19, 1951
- (30) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter—"Daily Worker," July 9, 1952, page 3
- (31) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts—signer of open letter to Truman urging Lehman Bill as substitute for Walter-McCarran Act—"Daily Worker," November 3, 1953, page 8
- (32) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts—signer of open letter to Senator Hennings—letter, November 14, 1955
- (33) National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case—signer of petition to President Eisenhower, 1953—House Committee report, "Trial by Treason," page 41
- (34) National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims—signer—official folder, May 22, 1953
- (35) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—signer of statement for—folder, 1940
- (36) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943
- (37) National Peace Referendum—sponsor—press release, August 1952
- (38) Religious Freedom Committee—member of executive committee—letterhead, July 1954; June 26, 1956
- (39) Report on Militarization of America—signer—Michigan "Herald," February 1, 1948, page 8
- (40) Rosenberg Clemency Appeal—supporter—"Daily Worker," January 9, 1953, page 6
- (41) Rosenberg Clemency Appeal—signer—"Daily Worker," January 18, 1953, page 2
- (42) Statement Defending Ballot Rights of Communists—signer—"Worker," October 20, 1940, page 2
- (43) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—sponsor and signer—press release, October 31, 1947

Henry Hitt Crane—Con't.

- (44) Telegram Urging Truman to Veto the Internal Security Act of 1950—signer—"Daily Worker," September 21, 1950, page 4
- (45) Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—signer of open letter asking President Eisenhower to call off H-Bomb tests—New York "Times," May 7, 1956, page 21; "Daily Worker," May 8, 1956, pages 1, 8
- (46) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—speaker at dinner, December 17—"Rights," October-November 1957, page 1

Bartley Crum, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

- (1) Action Committee to Free Spain Now—honorary chairman—letterhead, March 15, 1946
- (2) American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists—affiliated with—Appendix to House Committee Hearings, September 1, 1950, page 2990
- (3) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—vice-chairman—"New Masses," October 30, 1945
- (4) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—vice-chairman—letterhead, January 21, 1946
- (5) American Russian Institute—participant in round table discussion—"People's Daily World," April 6, 1944
- (6) American Russian Institute—sponsor of meeting—"People's Daily World," October 19, 1945
- (7) American Russian Institute—speaker, June 1948—Appendix to House Committee Hearings, September 1, 1950, page 2989
- (8) American Slav Congress—sponsor of dinner—program, October 12, 1947
- (9) American Youth for Democracy—vice chairman of San Francisco celebration—"People's Daily World," December 4, 1943
- (10) American Youth for Democracy—sponsor of dinner—program, October 16, 1944
- (11) Bay Area Council Against Discrimination—signer of statement—folder, 1942
- (12) Bay Area Council Against Discrimination—member of advisory committee—letterhead, September 4, 1942
- (13) California Labor School—sponsor—"Labor Herald," May 26, 1944
- (14) California Labor School—to teach in summer term—"People's Daily World," June 10, 1944
- (15) California Labor School—member of board of directors—San Francisco "Chronicle," March 19, 1945
- (16) California Labor School—sponsor, 1947; member of board of directors, 1948—Appendix to House Committee Hearings, September 1, 1950, page 2989
- (17) California Statewide Legislative Conference—issued call for conference, January 5-6, 1946—"Labor Herald," November 23, 1945
- (18) China Conference Arrangements Committee—sponsor—call to conference on China and the Far East, October 18-20, 1946
- (19) Citizenship for Harry Bridges Campaign—supporter—"People's Daily World," January 27, 1945
- (20) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Pol-

Bartley Crum—Con't.

icy—sponsor of conference—call to conference on China and the Far East, October 18-20, 1946

(21) Committee on Free Elections—sponsor—bulletin, May 13, 1944

(22) Free Spain Rally—chairman—"People's Daily World," October 12, 1945

(23) Friends of the Spanish Republic Committee—associated with—"People's Daily World," April 25, 1945

(24) Hollywood Democratic Committee—spoke on behalf of Harry Bridges—"People's Daily World," March 29, 1945

(25) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—initiating sponsor—"Worker," December 24, 1944

(26) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer of protest for—"Daily Worker," June 19, 1945

(27) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—member of board of directors—letterhead, August 28, 1945

(28) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—patron of concert—"People's Daily World," February 2, 1943

(29) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—sponsor of forums—"People's Daily World," January 11, 1944

(30) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—chairman of rally—"Daily Worker," September 22, 1945, page 5

(31) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner forum—program, December 3, 1945

(32) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner forum—program, May 25, 1952

(33) National Citizens Political Action Committee—member of organizing committee of Northern California Division; vice chairman—program of dinner, April 22, 1946

(34) National Committee to Win the Peace—vice chairman—letterhead, June 1, 1946

(35) National Committee to Win the Peace—sponsor of conference—call to conference on China and the Far East, October 18-20, 1946

(36) National Conference on the German Problem—sponsor—official release, March 6, 1947

(37) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of member of the Communist Party—"Worker," March 18, 1945, pages 1-3, magazine section

(38) National Lawyers Guild—elected president of San Francisco Chapter—"People's Daily World," September 9, 1942

(39) National Lawyers Guild—reelected president of San Francisco Chapter—"People's Daily World," January 17, 1944

(40) National Lawyers Guild—vice president since 1945—Appendix to House Committee Hearings, September 1, 1950, page 2990

(41) National Mobilization—sponsor—"Daily Worker," March 5, 1946, page 3

(42) "New Masses"—endorsed his book, "Behind the Silken Curtain"—"New Masses," June 24, 1947

Bartley Crum—Con't.

(43) Progressive Citizens of America—vice chairman—"Daily Worker," December 30, 1946, page 12

(44) Russian War Relief—chairman of forum committee—"People's Daily World," March 31, 1942

(45) Spanish Refugee Appeal—national sponsor—letterhead, October 8, 1945

(46) Spanish Refugee Appeal—national sponsor—letterhead, April 14, 1947

(47) Spanish Refugee Appeal—San Francisco sponsor—letterhead, October 1950

(48) San Francisco Council of American-Soviet Friendship—vice chairman—"People's Daily World," August 21, 1944

(49) Statement Against Outlawing the Communist Party—signer—"Daily Worker," March 15, 1947

(50) Statement Condemning Dilworth Bill to Bar Communist Party from California Ballot—signer—"People's Daily World," April 21, 1943

(51) Testimonial Dinner to Carol Weiss King—sent message—"Lamp," April 1948, page 4

(52) Tom Mooney Labor School—instructor—circu- lar, January 26, 1944

(53) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sent telegram of praise to meeting—September 24, 1945—testimony before Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, September 9, 1949

(54) Western Council for Progressive Labor in Agri- culture—member of board of directors—testimony of Walter Steele before House Committee, July 21, 1947, page 159

(55) Win-the-Peace Conference—sponsor—letter- head, February 28, 1946

(56) "Worker"—his book, "Behind the Silken Cur- tain," favorably reviewed by Albert Kahn—"Worker," June 15, 1947

**Gloster B. Current, Director, Branch Department,
NAACP**

(1) Methodist Federation for Social Action—nominee for national committee—ballot, 1947, page 2

(2) Methodist Federation for Social Service—nomi- nee for national committee—ballot, 1945, page 4

(3) Michigan Civil Rights Federation—sponsor of conference—call, September 12, 1941

(4) World Federation of Democratic Youth—elected temporary member of council—testimony of Walter Steele before House Committee, July 21, 1947, page 81

(5) World Youth Conference—delegate—booklet, 1945, page 4

**Maurice A. Dawkins, President, Los Angeles Branch,
NAACP:**

(1) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—delegate—booklet, September 25, 1943, page 25

(2) Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity—honorary chairman—leaflet, April 7, 1956

Albert Edward Day, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) Church Peace Mission—signer of statement on nuclear weapons tests—press release, December 2, 1957

Albert Edward Day—Con't.

(2) Los Angeles Committee to Postpone Action on Peacetime Conscription—sponsor—leaflet, June 27, 1945

Hubert T. Delaney, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) All-Harlem Youth Conference—sponsor—program, May 12-14, 1938

(2) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—delegate and member of executive committee—booklet, September 25, 1943, page 5

(3) Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee—supporter—New York "Times," March 14, 1946

(4) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—booklet, 1937

(5) Council on African Affairs—member—"New Africa," December 1943; pamphlet, 1947

(6) Council Against Intolerance in America—member—letterhead, October 1952

(7) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—speaker—program, January 30-31, 1953

(8) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—to preside at brunch meeting—invitation, March 24, 1957

(9) George Washington Carver School—member of board of directors—catalog, 1947

(10) Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain—member—letterhead, March 5, 1938

(11) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—member of lawyers committee—booklet, 1938, page 2

(12) National Lawyers Guild—presided at annual convention—"Daily Worker," May 8, 1950, page 3

(13) National Lawyers Guild—elected vice-president of New York Chapter—"Daily Worker," June 20, 1952, page 8

(14) National Lawyers Guild—presided at conference—"Daily Worker," October 7, 1952, page 4

(15) National Lawyers Guild—vice-president of New York City Chapter—news release, May 25, 1953; New York "Times," May 24, 1954, page 29

(16) National Lawyers Guild—guest of honor at a banquet—folder, October 25, 1957

(17) People's Institute of Harlem—attended dinner of—"Worker," March 7, 1943, page 3

(18) People's Voice—master of ceremonies at reception—leaflet, May 14, 1946

(19) Testimonial Dinner Honoring Ferdinand C. Smith—sponsor—"Daily Worker," September 11, 1944, page 2

(20) United Front for Herndon, an adjunct of International Labor Defense—signer of petition—"Labor Defender," October 1935

Earl B. Dickerson, National Legal Committee and Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) Abraham Lincoln School—member of board of directors—catalog for fall session, 1943

(2) African Aid Committee—sponsor—letterhead, May 28, 1949; January 20, 1950

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of Cleveland conference—official program, 1947

Earl B. Dickerson—Con't.

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter—"Lamp," May 1948, page 4

(5) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—pamphlet, November 1, 1949; letterhead, September 22, 1950

(6) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights—letterhead, October 10, 1950

(7) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—letterhead, February 1951

(8) American Continental Congress for World Peace—sponsor and endorser—"Daily Worker," July 29, 1949, page 5

(9) American Peace Crusade—sponsor—letterhead, May 26, 1951

(10) American Youth Congress—sponsor—official program, May 25-26, 1940

(11) Appeal for Amnesty for the Jailed Leaders of the Communist Party Convicted Under the Smith Act—signer—"Daily Worker," December 10, 1952, page 4

(12) Appeal to Greek Government Protesting Trial of Greek Maritime Unionists—signer—"Daily Worker," August 19, 1952, page 1

(13) Arts, Sciences and Professions Council of Southern California—participated in conference—"Daily Worker," June 20, 1952, page 7

(14) Bill of Rights Conference—initiating sponsor—official call, July 16-17, 1949

(15) Chicago Civil Liberties Committee—member of advisory board—letterhead, March 10, 1947

(16) Chicago Conference on Race Relations—chairman of sponsoring committee—program, July 22, 1939

(17) Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor—letterhead, June 10, 1943; February 22, 1944; May 24, 1948

(18) China Conference Arrangements Committee—sponsor—letterhead, November 6, 1946

(19) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—supporter—"People's Voice," March 21, 1942

(20) Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee—supporter—New York "Times," March 14, 1946

(21) Civil Rights Congress—signer of statement in defense of Eisler—"Daily Worker," February 28, 1947, page 2

(22) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—sponsor of conference on China and the Far East—call, October 18-20, 1946

(23) Committee to End Sedition Laws—signer of statement—press release, November 19, 1955

(24) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor—sponsor—booklet, 1945, page 12

(25) Committee for Free Political Advocacy—signer of statement—press release, February 11, 1949

(26) Committee for Free Political Advocacy—sponsor—"New Republic," March 29, 1949, page 32

(27) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of statement—"Daily Worker," December 14, 1949, page 8

Earl B. Dickerson—Con't.

- (28) Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America—speaker—official program, June 7-9, 1940
- (29) Congress of American-Soviet Friendship—endorser—"Soviet Russia Today," December 1942, page 42
- (30) Congress on Civil Rights—sponsor—official program, April 27-28, 1946
- (31) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, August 21, 1949
- (32) Council on African Affairs—member—"New Africa," December 1943, page 4; proceedings of conference, April 14, 1944, page 36; pamphlet, 1947
- (33) Council on African Affairs—endorser of program—"New Africa," October 1945
- (34) Dinner in Honor of Pearl Hart—sponsor—"Daily Worker," April 6, 1950, page 4
- (35) W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee—sponsor—official program, February 23, 1951
- (36) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—sponsor—program, January 30-31, 1953
- (37) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—member of national council—letterhead, September 30, 1954; January 26, 1955; March 14, 1956
- (38) Emergency Conference on China and Saving Peace—sponsor—official program, November 11, 1950
- (39) Friends of the New Masses in Chicago—sponsor—leaflet, April 23, 1944
- (40) International Labor Defense—member of national committee—program, October 1943
- (41) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," April 29, 1949, page 2
- (42) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—sponsor—"Worker," April 30, 1950, page 15
- (43) National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill—sponsor—pamphlet, April 1950
- (44) National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims—appealed for amnesty—leaflet, May 22, 1953
- (45) National Committee to Win the Peace—sponsor of conference on China and the Far East—call, October 18-20, 1946
- (46) National Conference on Civil Rights Legislation and Discrimination—participant—"Daily Worker," October 7, 1952, page 4
- (47) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor—leaflet, November 7-8, 1942
- (48) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—sponsor of Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace—official program, March 25-29, 1949
- (49) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer of statement demanding the quashing of indictment against W. E. B. DuBois—"Daily Worker," June 29, 1951, page 5
- (50) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—endorser of resolution on Tunisia—"Daily Worker," June 2, 1952, page 3
- (51) National Free Browder Congress—sponsor—"Daily Worker," March 3, 1942, page 3
- (52) National Lawyers Guild—president—"Daily Worker," December 10, 1952, page 4

Earl B. Dickerson—Con't.

- (53) National Negro Congress—sponsor—program, May 30-June 2, 1946
- (54) National Wallace-for-President Committee—member—press release, March 23, 1948
- (55) Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—signer of statement—"Daily Worker," February 8, 1939, page 2
- (56) Negro People's Committee for Peace and Freedom—sponsor—leaflet, June 29, 1951
- (57) Negroes for Wallace—member—"Daily Worker," October 21, 1948, page 4
- (58) Open Letter to President Truman Asking Clemency for the Rosenbergs—signer—"Daily Worker," December 25, 1952, page 8
- (59) Progressive Party—co-chairman of platform committee—"Daily Worker," June 10, 1952, page 2
- (60) Progressive Party of Illinois—vice-chairman—"Daily Worker," April 18, 1950, page 9
- (61) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF—dated June 10, 1954
- (62) Spanish Refugee Appeal—sponsor—leaflet, 1945
- (63) Stop Film Censorship Committee—endorser of statement—"Daily Worker," January 21, 1942, page 7
- (64) U. S.-Soviet Friendship Congress—sponsor—"Daily Worker," September 29, 1943, page 5
- (65) Win-the-Peace Conference—sponsor—official program, April 5-7, 1946

Albert C. Dieffenbach, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) Appeal for Amnesty for Eleven Communist Party Leaders—signer—press release, January 13, 1953
- (2) Appeal to President Roosevelt for Justice in the Browder Case—signer—leaflet, 1942
- (3) Bill of Rights Conference—sponsor—call, July 16-17, 1949
- (4) Brief "Amiei Curiae" for the Communist Party—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, October 1955
- (5) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—signer of call to free Browder congress—"Worker," February 15, 1942, page 3
- (6) Greater Boston Reception Committee to the Russian Delegation—member—"Jewish Advocate," July 16, 1943, page 6
- (7) Jefferson School of Social Science—signer of statement supporting right to teach Marxism—"Daily Worker," November 25, 1953, page 2
- (8) Jefferson School of Social Science—signer of statement supporting right to teach Marxism—press release, June 24, 1954
- (9) Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship—member of executive board—letterhead, December 15, 1943
- (10) Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship—member of board of directors—letterhead, February 5, 1946
- (11) Melish Brief "Amiei Curiae"—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, January 11, 1951

Albert C. Dieffenbach—Con't.

(12) National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims—appealed for amnesty—leaflet, May 22, 1953

(13) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of document—"Soviet Russia Today," November 1947, page 35

(14) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—member of board of directors—letterhead, October 12, 1948

(15) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—sponsor—leaflet, March 25, 1949

(16) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer of statement asking end to DuBois indictment—"Daily Worker," June 29, 1951, page 5

(17) Samuel Adams School for Social Studies—member of board of trustees—catalog, 1945; announcement, January 13-March 22, 1947; announcement, July 8-August 13, 1947

(18) Schappes Defense Committee—signer of open letter to Governor Dewey—New York "Times," October 9, 1944, page 12

(19) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—sponsor and signer—press release, October 31, 1947

John Wesley Dobbs, Vice-President, NAACP:

(1) Brief "Amici Curiae" for the Communist Party—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, October Term, 1955

(2) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—signer of petition—"People's Voice," March 21, 1942, page 11

(3) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—guest of honor at a brunch meeting—invitation, March 24, 1957

(4) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of petition—petition, June 22, 1951

(5) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF—letter, June 10, 1954

(6) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors—letterhead, July 1954

(7) Southern Conference Educational Fund—treasurer and sponsor of southwestern regional conference on integration—folder, May 17, 1955

(8) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors—letterhead, November 1, 1956

(9) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—signer of petition to U. S. Senate—"Daily Worker," January 26, 1946, page 9

Caxton Doggett, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) Methodist Federation for Social Action—nominee for national committee—ballot, "Social Questions Bulletin," February-March 1949, pages 46-48

(2) Methodist Federation for Social Service—nominee for national committee—1947 ballot, page 2

(3) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—signer—press release, October 31, 1947

Roscoe Dunjee, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) Bill of Rights Conference—initiating sponsor—call, July 16-17, 1949

(2) Civil Rights Congress—signer of statement defending the Communist Party—"Daily Worker," April 16, 1947, page 2

(3) Civil Rights Congress—signer of petition to United Nations—"We Charge Genocide" (book), November 1951

(4) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense—sponsor—booklet, August 1945, page 15

(5) Congress on Civil Rights—sponsor—call, April 27-28, 1946

(6) Council on African Affairs—endorser of program—"New Africa," October 1945

(7) Council on African Affairs—member—pamphlet, 1947

(8) First Line of Defense—sponsor—"Worker," August 29, 1948, page 11

(9) Manifesto of Negro Leaders—signer against outlawing the Communist Party—press release, April 21, 1947

(10) National Citizens Political Action Committee—member—official list, August 28, 1944

(11) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer for Wallace—"Daily Worker," October 19, 1948, page 7

(12) National Mobilization—sponsor of conference—"Daily Worker," March 5, 1946, page 3

(13) National Non-Partisan Delegation to Washington for Passage of Civil Rights Legislation—initial sponsor—leaflet

(14) National Wallace for President Committee—member—press release, March 23, 1948

(15) Negroes for Wallace—member—"Daily Worker," October 21, 1948, page 4

(16) "New Masses"—contributor—"New Masses," March 1944

(17) Open Letter Condemning Attack on Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer—Arkansas "State Press," March 26, 1954, pages 1, 4

(18) Schappes Defense Committee—signer of open letter—New York "Times," October 9, 1944, page 12

(19) Southern California Committee to Win the Peace—member of national committee—letterhead, August 9, 1946

(20) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors—program of first southwide conference on discrimination in higher education, April 8, 1950

(21) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors—letterhead, January 1951

(22) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF—letter, June 10, 1954

(23) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors—letterhead, April 1955

(24) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors—letterhead, November 1, 1956

Roscoe Dunjee—Con't.

(25) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—sponsor of second conference—call, April 14-16, 1940

(26) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—signer of manifesto—"Southern Patriot," June 1947, pages 4-5

(27) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—vice-president—letterhead, June 1, 1947

(28) Southern Negro Youth Congress — honorary member of Association of Young Writers and Artists—"People's Daily World," October 2, 1944, page 5

(29) Southern Negro Youth Congress — member of advisory board—testimony of Walter Steele before House Committee, July 21, 1947

(30) Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Ferdinand C. Smith—member of committee of sponsors—program, September 20, 1944

(31) United Front for Herndon—signer of petition to free Angelo Herndon—"Labor Defender," October 1935

(32) United Negro and Allied Veterans of America—member of national advisory board—letterhead, September 23, 1947

(33) Win-the-Peace Conference — sponsor — call, April 5-7, 1946

Ralph Ellison, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Writers Congress—initial signer of call to fourth congress—call, June 6-8, 1941

(2) Artists Front to Win the War—sponsor—program, October 16, 1942

(3) "Champion" — member of editorial board — "Champion," November 1937

(4) League of American Writers—signer of call to 1941 congress—official call, 1941

(5) League of American Writers—speaker—"New Masses," March 31, 1942, page 31

(6) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer—news release, December 26, 1941

(7) "Negro Quarterly"—managing editor—"Negro Quarterly," Spring 1942

(8) "New Masses"—contributor—"New Masses," December 5, 1939; February 6, 20, 27, March 19, May 14, 28, June 18, July 2, September 24, October 29, 1940; November 4, December 2, 1941

(9) "New Masses"—contributing editor—"New Masses," January 5, 1943

(10) Open Letter on Harry Bridges—signer—"Daily Worker," July 19, 1942, page 4

Morris L. Ernst, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) American Fund for Public Service—member of board of directors—Appendix IX, page 384

(2) American League for Peace and Democracy—member of lawyers' committee—letterhead, April 6, 1939

(3) Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative—sponsor—pamphlet, 1938

(4) Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, Manhattan Chapter—patron—leaflet, undated

Morris L. Ernst—Con't.

(5) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—member of lawyer's committee—booklet, 1938

(6) Milk Consumers Protective Committee—member of advisory board—letterhead, circa 1936

(7) National Conference on the German Problem—sponsor—official release, March 6, 1947

(8) Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio—chairman—letterhead, October 3, 1936

H. William Fitelson, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) Film and Photo League—affiliated with—1948 California report, page 238

Harry Emerson Fosdick, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—sponsor—folder, September 25, 1943

(2) "Equality" — contributor — "Equality," May 1939, page 6

(3) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights — sponsor — program, February 12, 1940

(4) League of American Writers—contributor—booklet, March 1939, page 47

(5) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—"PM," May 12, 1944, page 3; letterhead, March 8, 1946

(6) National Committee on Atomic Information—member of committee of sponsors—"Atomic Information," October 20, 1946

(7) National Council Against Conscription—honorary president—1948 California report, page 319

Osmond K. Fraenkel, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—spoke at dinner of—October 11, 1956—House Committee Appendix on Communist Political Subversion, page 7334

(2) American League for Peace and Democracy—member of lawyers' committee—letterhead, April 6, 1939

(3) American League Against War and Fascism—contributor to "Fight"—"Fight," February 1937, page 8; September 1937, page 7

(4) American Student Union—sponsor—"Student Advocate," February 1937, page 2

(5) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—sponsor of dinner—"Daily Worker," February 5, 1942, page 4

(6) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—speaker—"Daily Worker," February 27, 1942, page 3

(7) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—signer of appeal—official leaflet, 1942

(8) Citizens Emergency Conference on Interracial Unity—sponsor—booklet, September 25, 1943, page 29

(9) Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee—supporter—New York "Times," March 14, 1946

Osmond K. Fraenkel—Con't.

- (10) Committee for Defense of Public Education—speaker—program, December 18, 1940
- (11) Conference Committee Against the Mundt and Ferguson Bills — sponsor — “Daily Worker,” June 1, 1949, page 6
- (12) Consumers Union—member of board of directors—“Consumer Reports,” January 1938; folder, 1940; “Consumer Reports,” July 1945, September 1946, January 1947, January 1948, January 1949, November 1950, September 1951
- (13) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—official booklet, 1937
- (14) “Equality” — contributor — “Equality,” April 1940, page 21
- (15) Film Audiences for Democracy — member of advisory board—letterhead, undated
- (16) Films for Democracy—member of advisory board — letterhead, January 5, 1938
- (17) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—member of general committee—program, February 12, 1940
- (18) International Juridical Association—member of national committee—letterhead, May 18, 1942
- (19) International Labor Defense—attorney in Scottsboro cases—Appendix IX, page 1277
- (20) International Workers Order—attorney for—“Daily Worker,” October 10, 1952, page 2
- (21) Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain—member—letterhead, March 5, 1938; booklet, 1939
- (22) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—member of lawyers’ committee—booklet, 1938, page 2
- (23) National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners—member—letterhead, undated
- (24) National Committee for People’s Rights—member—press release, November 15, 1938
- (25) National Emergency Conference—signer of call—official call, May 13-14, 1939
- (26) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—sponsor—letterhead, February 15, 1940
- (27) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—speaker, 1940—Appendix IX, page 1277
- (28) National Lawyers Guild—director ex-officio of New York City chapter—letterhead, May 28, 1940
- (29) National Lawyers’ Guild—member of legislative council of New York City chapter—“Legislative Bulletin” of ULG, January 20, 1941
- (30) National Lawyers Guild—vice-president—Appendix IX, page 1275
- (31) National Lawyers Guild—chairman of civil rights committee; defended DeJenge case; member of executive committee—Appendix IX, page 1277
- (32) National Lawyers Guild — signer of petition against anti-Communist measures to members of New York State legislature—“Daily Worker,” March 22, 1949, page 2
- (33) National Lawyers Guild—vice-president—“Daily Worker,” June 20, 1952, page 8

Osmond K. Fraenkel—Con't.

- (34) National Lawyers Guild—vice-president of New York City chapter—press release, May 25, 1953
- (35) National Lawyers Guild—vice-president of New York City chapter—New York “Times,” May 24, 1954, page 29
- (36) National Lawyers Guild—guest of honor at a banquet—folder, October 25, 1957
- (37) New York Tom Mooney Committee—sponsor—letterhead, June 5, 1939
- (38) Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee—trustee—letterhead, January 18, 1935
- (39) Provisional Committee to Free Earl Browder—signer of letter—letter, October 18, 1941
- (40) School for Democracy—guest lecturer—catalog and program, January 1942
- (41) Statement in Defense of the Communist Party—signer—Appendix IX, page 1277

Buell G. Gallagher, Board of Directors, NAACP:

- (1) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—signer—press release, October 31, 1947
- (2) United Student Peace Committee—endorsed student peace strike—“Daily Worker,” April 13, 1936, page 3

Lewis S. Gannett, Vice-President, NAACP:

- (1) All-America Anti-Imperialist League—member of national committee—letterhead, April 11, 1928
- (2) American Committee for Anti-Nazi German Seamen—member—letterhead, December 8, 1938
- (3) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of letter—letterhead, May 26, 1940
- (4) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—sponsor, medical bureau—“New Masses,” March 16, 1937, page 26
- (5) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—signer of petition to lift embargo—“Daily Worker,” April 8, 1938, page 4
- (6) American Fund for Public Service—member of board of directors—Appendix IX, page 384
- (7) American League for Peace and Democracy—member of writers’ and artists’ committee—letterhead, April 6, 1939
- (8) American Russian Institute—member of board of directors—letterhead, July 23, 1937
- (9) American Student Union—sponsor—“Student Advocate,” February 1937, page 2
- (10) Book Find Club—writer for—May 1946; September 1946
- (11) Committee of One Hundred for the Defense of the Imprisoned Needle Trades Workers—member—letterhead, March 29, 1927
- (12) Friends of the Soviet Union—member of reception committee for Soviet flyers—official booklet, 1929
- (13) Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union—sent greetings—“Soviet Russia Today,” November 1937, page 79

Lewis S. Gannett—Con't.

(14) International Committee for Political Prisoners—member of general committee—letterhead, June, 1936

(15) Joint Committee for the Defense of the Brazilian People—signer of cable—"Daily Worker," June 12, 1936, page 2

(16) "Liberator"—contributor—House Committee annual report, 1942, page 18

(17) Medical Aid to Russia—sponsor—"Soviet Russia Today," September 1941, page 32

(18) Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy—member of national committee—testimony of Walter Steele before House Committee, August 16, 1938, page 569

(19) Nation Associates—sponsor—program, October 13, 1947

(20) "New Masses"—contributor—"New Masses," February 16, 1937, page 21

(21) New Masses Letter to the President—signer of letter in defense of Communists—"New Masses," April 2, 1940, page 21

(22) Russian War Relief—signer of appeal—New York "Times," October 10, 1941

(23) "Soviet Russia,"—contributor—"Soviet Russia," December 1921, page 246

(24) Sunnyside Discussion Group—sponsor—leaflet, March 6, 1938

(25) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—signer of petition—"New Masses," April 2, 1940, page 21

(26) Writers and Artists Committee for Medical Aid to Spain—sponsor—letterhead, undated

Lloyd Garrison, Chairman, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) International Juridical Association—member of national committee—letterhead, May 18, 1942

(2) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Worker," March 18, 1945, page 2

(3) National Lawyers Guild—member—letter, May 18, 1940

Harry D. Gideonse, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," April 8, 1938, page 4

(2) American Preparatory Committee, International Student Conference at Prague—sponsor—August 17-31, 1946

(3) National Emergency Conference—sponsor—program, May 13, 1939

(4) Open Road—member of American advisory committee—leaflet, undated

(5) Protestant Digest Statement Denouncing Lindbergh—signer—"Daily Worker," September 27, 1941

Mary Barnett Gilson, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, October 13, 1947

Roland B. Gittelsohn, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) Churchman Dinner Presenting Award to G. Bromley Oxnam—member of honorary committee—program, February 23, 1949

(2) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—sponsor—call, May 29-30, 1950

(3) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, May 25, 1952

(4) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to members of Congress—letter, January 19, 1951

(5) Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign, an auxiliary of American League for Peace and Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, August 3, 1939

(6) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF—letter, June 10, 1954

Frank P. Graham, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—one of the founders—"Daily Worker," March 18, 1939, page 2

(2) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—member of executive committee—letterhead, January 17, 1940

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—letterhead, May 15, 1940

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 5th national conference—program, March 29-30, 1941

(5) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—sponsor—"New Masses," January 5, 1937, page 31

(6) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—committee member—letterhead, February 21, 1938

(7) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—signer of petition—"Daily Worker," April 8, 1938, page 4

(8) American League for Peace and Democracy—signer of statement on international situation—"New Masses," March 15, 1938, page 19

(9) American League for Peace and Democracy—national committee member—letterhead, April 6, 1939

(10) China Aid Council—sponsor—letterhead, June 11, 1938; January 9, 1941

(11) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—sponsor of appeal—letterhead, 1942

(12) Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression—signer of letter for—"Daily Worker," February 25, 1938, page 4

(13) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—official pamphlet, 1937

(14) Council Against Intolerance in America—member—letterhead, October 1952

(15) Council of Young Southerners—sponsor—letterhead, June 26, 1940

(16) International Labor Defense—sent greetings—"Equal Justice," July 1939, pages 2-5

(17) Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain—sent message—prespectus and review, 1939

Frank P. Graham—Con't.

- (18) League of Young Southerners—member—letterhead, August 13, 1940
- (19) Medical Bureau and Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, February 2, 1939
- (20) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—national sponsor—letterhead, December 8, 1938
- (21) Moscow University—member of national advisory council—summer session 1935
- (22) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—"PM," May 12, 1944, page 3; letterhead, March 8, 1946
- (23) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—sponsor of National Conference on Academic Freedom—report on conference, October 9-10, 1948
- (24) National Council Against Conscription—honorary president—1948 California report, page 319
- (25) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—signer of open letter—folder, 1940
- (26) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party
- (27) National Share-Croppers Fund—member of board—1948 California report, page 334
- (28) Russian War Relief—signer of appeal for—New York "Times," October 10, 1941
- (29) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—chairman—official report, 1938
- (30) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—co-chairman—program and call, April 14-16, 1940
- (31) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—honorary chairman and speaker—program, April 19-21, 1942
- (32) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—signer of petition—"Daily Worker," January 26, 1946, page 9
- (33) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—elected honorary president—"Daily Worker," January 23, 1946, page 4
- (34) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—signer of manifesto—"Southern Patriot," June 1947, pages 4-5
- (35) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—honorary president—list of officers, 1947-48
- (36) Soviet Russia Today—sponsor of dinner celebrating 25th anniversary of the Red army—program, February 22, 1943
- (37) United States Arrangements Committee, World Youth Conference—sponsor—letterhead, July 1945

Harry J. Greene, National Health Committee and Board of Directors, NAACP:

- (1) Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America—sponsor—call and program, June 7-9, 1939
- (2) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—sponsor of conference—call and program, April 19-20, 1940

Joseph F. Guffey, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) American Committee for Indonesian Independence—signer of letter—"Indonesian Review," 1946
- (2) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—sponsor—letterhead, October 23, 1945; July 23, 1948
- (3) American Relief for Greek Democracy—member of national board—letterhead, November 19, 1946
- (4) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, October 13, 1947
- (5) National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee to Aid Strikers Families—member of national board—"Worker," March 17, 1946, page 5
- (6) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of congress, November 7-8, 1942—telegram, October 1, 1942
- (7) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of congress—leaflet, November 8, 1943
- (8) Soviet Russia Today—sponsor of dinner celebrating 25th anniversary of the Red army—program, February 22, 1943
- (9) United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America—signer of statement defending strike against GE, Westinghouse and General Motors—"Daily Worker," January 30, 1946, page 5

Amos T. Hall, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

- (1) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor of southwestern regional conference on integration—folder, May 17, 1955

Oscar Hammerstein II, Vice-President, NAACP:

- (1) All-Arts Action Meeting—member of sponsoring committee—New York "Times," February 25, 1948
- (2) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense—sponsor—booklet, August 1945, page 14
- (3) Committee for the First Amendment—initiator of support for the Hollywood 10—1948 California Report, pages 240-241
- (4) Committee for the Negro in the Arts—sponsor—New York "Daily Compass," September 7, 1950, page 18
- (5) Conference to End Discrimination in Levittown—sponsor—"Worker," June 10, 1951, page 3
- (6) End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee—sponsor—letterhead, August 6, 1945
- (7) Hollywood Anti-Nazi League—worked with—"Daily Worker," March 24, 1943, page 7
- (8) Hollywood Democratic Committee—sponsor—official leaflet of Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, page 3
- (9) Hollywood League for Democratic Action—sponsor—1948 California Report, page 256
- (10) Hollywood Writers Mobilization—speaker—official program, writers congress, October 1943
- (11) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—initiating sponsor—"Worker," December 24, 1944, page 14
- (12) Labor's Anti-Hitler Committee—sponsor—"Daily Worker," October 23, 1941, page 4

Oscar Hammerstein—Con't.

(13) Letter to the "Nation" on the Peekskill Riot and in Behalf of Paul Robeson—signer—"Nation," September 17, 1949

(14) National Mobilization Committee—sponsor—"Daily Worker," March 5, 1946, page 3

(15) National Reception Committee of the Soviet Delegation—sponsor—"Daily Worker," September 17, 1943, page 7

(16) New York Committee for Justice in Freeport—sponsor—letterhead, February 21, 1947

(17) Parkchester Committee to End Discrimination in Housing—supporter—"Daily Worker," January 12, 1953, page 6

(18) "People's Songs"—sent greetings—bulletin, February-March 1947, page 19

(19) "People's Songs"—sponsor—bulletin, September 1947

(20) "People's Songs"—sent birthday greetings to—bulletin, February-March 1948, page 19

(21) Russian War Relief—signer of appeal—new York "Times," October 10, 1941

(22) Southern California Committee to Win the Peace—sponsor—letterhead, August 9, 1946

(23) Southern Negro Youth Congress—honorary member—"People's World," October 2, 1944, page 5

(24) Stop Film Censorship Committee—endorser of statement—"Daily Worker," January 21, 1942, page 7

(25) Win-the-Peace Conference—sponsor—letterhead, April 5-7, 1946

John Hammond, Vice-President, NAACP:

(1) Artists' Front to win the war—sponsor of mass meeting—program, October 16, 1942

(2) Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges—member—letterhead, September 11, 1941

(3) Council on African Affairs—member—"New Africa," December 1943, page 4

(4) Council on African Affairs—member—booklet, April 14, 1944

(5) Council on African Affairs—member—pamphlet, 1947

(6) Federal Arts Council of Workers Alliance—sponsor—leaflet, undated

(7) Metropolitan Music School—sponsor—catalog, 1953-54; catalog, 1954-55

(8) Musicians' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—sponsor—announcement, undated

(9) National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners—affiliated with—leaflet, undated

(10) National Committee for People's Rights—affiliated with—leaflet, November 15, 1938

(11) National Committee of Protestant Associates—chairman—"Protestant," August-September, 1942

(12) National Committee of Protestant Associates—chairman—"Protestant," October 1945

(13) National Committee of Protestant Associates—trustee—"Protestant," December-January 1946-47

John Hammond—Con't.

(14) National Scottsboro Action Committee—member of executive committee—"Daily Worker," May 3, 1933, page 2

(15) "New Masses"—contributor—"New Masses," May 25, 1937; June 8, 1937; July 13, 1937

(16) "People's Press"—one of the owners of—"People's Press," October 23, 1937

(17) People's Songs—member of board of directors—bulletin, February-March, 1947

(18) Progressive Citizens of America—vice chairman of New York State chapter—letterhead, May 6, 1948

(19) "Protestant"—associate editor—"Protestant," December-January, 1946-47, April-May 1947, November-December 1947, January-February 1948, June-July 1948, January 1949

(20) "Protestant"—trustee—"Protestant," November-December 1947, January-February 1948

(21) Protestant Digest Associates—chairman; sponsor of call to dinner-forum—leaflet, February 25, 1941

(22) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF—letter, June 10, 1954

(23) Soviet Propaganda Film Group—member of committee which selected group to go to Russia—New York "Herald Tribune," June 14, 1932, page 16

S. Ralph Harlow, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—program, March 29, 1941

(2) American League Against War and Fascism—sponsor of meetings of—Massachusetts Hearings, page 151

(3) American Russian Institute—endorser of campaign—folder, 1945

(4) American Student Union—member of sponsoring committee—"Student Advocate," February 1937, page 2

(5) Committee for Citizenship Rights—endorser—letterhead, January 10, 1942

(6) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—sponsor—program, January 23-25, 1948

(7) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of statement to President Truman—"Daily Worker," December 14, 1949, page 8

(8) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—signer of telegram—"Daily Worker," September 17, 1940, page 1, 5

(9) Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union—sent greetings—"Soviet Russia Today," November 1937, page 79

(10) John Reed Clubs—signer of protest—New York "Times," May 19, 1930

(11) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Congress on the Internal Security Act—letter, January 19, 1951

(12) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of petition—petition, June 22, 1951

S. Ralph Harlow—Con't.

- (13) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Republican and Democratic Parties—"Daily Worker," July 9, 1952, page 3
- (14) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts—signer of open letter to Senator Hennings—letter, November 14, 1955
- (15) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of petition opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943
- (16) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of news release—dated December 26, 1941
- (17) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Daily Worker," March 19, 1945
- (18) "Protestant"—sponsor—letterhead, January 22, 1941
- (19) Protestant Digest Associates—sponsor of call to dinner-forum—leaflet, February 25, 1941
- (20) Schappes Defense Committee—sponsor—New York "Times," October 9, 1944
- (21) Statement Asking J. Howard McGrath to withdraw Contempt Proceedings—signer—"Daily Worker," February 19, 1951, page 9
- (22) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—signer—press release, October 31, 1947
- (23) World Peace Appeal—endorser—leaflet, August 31, 1950

James Hinton, Board of Directors, NAACP:

- (1) Congress on Civil Rights—sponsor—call, April 27-28, 1946
- (2) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—signer of manifesto—"Southern Patriot," June 1947, pages 4-5

Harrison Hires, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) American Committee to Save Refugees—member of committee of sponsors of dinner-forum—program, October 9, 1941
- (2) Exiled Writers Committee of League of American Writers—member of committee of sponsors of dinner-forum—program, October 9, 1941
- (3) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—sponsor of dinner—program, October 27, 1943
- (4) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, August 26, 1938
- (5) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943
- (6) Pennsylvania Congress for American Liberty—sponsor—leaflet, February 22, 1941
- (7) United American Spanish Aid Committee—member of committee of sponsors of dinner-forum—program, October 9, 1941

Henry W. Hobson, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of birthday greeting to Sabath—"Lamp," May 1946, page 3
- (2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter—"Lamp," June 1946, page 3
- (3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—saluted Bishop Moulton—"Daily Worker," May 5, 1953, page 8
- (4) Churchman Associates Dinner Presenting Award to G. Bromley Oxnam—member of honorary committee—program, February 23, 1949
- (5) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—signer of letter—letterhead, April 2, 1952
- (6) Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression—signer of appeal—"Daily Worker," February 25, 1938, page 1
- (7) Committee of One Thousand—signer of open letter urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities—"Daily Worker," January 3, 1949, page 7
- (8) Congress of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor—letterhead, October 19, 1942
- (9) Indusco—member of advisory board—letterhead, November 1950; April 1951
- (10) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—sponsor of dinner—program, October 27, 1943
- (11) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—"PM," May 12, 1944, page 3
- (12) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—letterhead, March 8, 1946
- (13) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of congress—"Soviet Russia Today," December 1942, page 42
- (14) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of open letter—New York "Times," May 18, 1943, page 17
- (15) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Daily Worker," March 18, 1945, pages 1-3, magazine
- (16) Open Letter to President Roosevelt Protesting Deportation Order Against Harry R. Bridges—signer—letter, April 22, 1943
- (17) "Protestant"—signer of petition for all out aid to Russia—"Daily Worker," October 21, 1941, page 2
- (18) Protestant Digest Associates—national sponsor—letterhead, January 22, 1941
- (19) Protestant Digest Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—call, February 25, 1941
- (20) Protestant Digest Statement Denouncing Lindbergh—signer—"Daily Worker," September 27, 1941, pages 1, 5
- (21) Russian War Relief—sponsor—New York "Times," October 10, 1941
- (22) Russian War Relief—member of religious committee—letterhead, 1943

Henry W. Hobson—Con't.

(23) Stop Film Censorship Committee—endorser of statement—"Daily Worker," January 21, 1942, page 7

John Haynes Holmes, Vice-President, NAACP:

(1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—member of advisory board—letterhead, February 15, 1936

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—letterhead, March 2-3, 1940

(3) American Committee for the Relief of Russian Children—member—"Soviet Russia," January 1922, page 37

(4) American Committee to Save Refugees—sponsor—letterhead, October 1941

(5) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—sponsor—"New Masses," January 5, 1937, page 31

(6) American Pushkin Committee—sponsor—letterhead, 1937

(7) American Pushkin Committee—sponsor—letterhead, 1940

(8) Amnesty Appeal for the Communist 11—signer—"Daily Worker," January 15, 1953, page 8

(9) Appeal to President Roosevelt for Justice in the Browder Case—signer—leaflet, 1942

(10) Cable in Defense of Luiz Carlos Prestes—signer—"Daily Worker," February 13, 1937, page 2

(11) Citizens Committee to Defend Representative Government—signer of letter calling for seating of Simon Gerson (Communist) in New York City Council—New York "Times," February 19, 1948

(12) Committee of One Hundred for the Defense of the Imprisoned Needle Trades Workers—member—letterhead, March 29, 1927

(13) Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson—member—"Soviet Russia Today," October 1948, page 24

(14) Conference on Pan American Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, November 16, 1938

(15) Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of open letter to congress—letter, August 21, 1949

(16) Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative—sponsor—pamphlet, 1938

(17) Council Against Intolerance in America—member—letterhead, October 1952

(18) Descendants of the American Revolution—member of advisory board—leaflet, 1938

(19) Friends of the Soviet Union—member of reception committee for the Soviet flyers—booklet, September 1929

(20) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—sponsor—program, February 12, 1940

(21) International Committee for Political Prisoners—general committee member—letterhead, June 1936

(22) Labor Defense Council—committee member—letterhead, April 6, 1923

(23) League of American Writers—contributor—booklet, March 1939

John Haynes Holmes—Con't.

(24) Melish Brief "Amici Curiae"—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, January 11, 1951

(25) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—sponsor—call, May 29-30, 1950

(26) National Committee on Atomic Information—member of committee of sponsors—"Atomic Information," October 20, 1946

(27) National Committee, Friends of the Soviet Union—endorser—"Soviet Russia Today," December 1933, page 17

(28) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, January 19, 1951

(29) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—signer of open letter—letter, undated

(30) National People's Committee Against Hearst—member—letterhead, March 16, 1937

(31) "New Masses"—contributor—"New Masses," April 20, 1937

(32) New York Tom Mooney Committee—sponsor—letterhead, June 5, 1939

(33) Open Letter to J. Howard McGrath—signer—"Daily Worker," February 19, 1951, page 2

(34) Rosenberg Clemency Appeal—signer—"Daily Worker," January 1, 1953, page 1

(35) Russian Reconstruction Farms—member of advisory board—letterhead, March 20, 1926

Sidney Hook, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Struggle Against War—member of American committee—letterhead, June 3, 1933

(2) League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford—signer of statement—"Daily Worker," September 14, 1932, page 1

(3) National Committee to Aid Striking Miners Fighting Starvation—sponsor—letterhead, January 30, 1933

H. Claude Hudson, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) California State-wide Legislative Conference—sponsor of second conference—pamphlet, February 15-16, 1947

(2) China Conference Arrangements Committee—sponsor—letterhead, November 6, 1946

(3) Citizens Committee for Better Education—president—letterhead, 1948

(4) Civil Rights Congress—sponsor of Los Angeles chapter—"Daily People's World," May 2, 1947, page 8

(5) Civil Rights Congress, Division of Mobilization for Democracy—Los Angeles sponsor—letterhead, April 23, 1948

(6) Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity—sponsor—leaflet, March 14, 1956

(7) Congress of American Women—CAW campaign for votes in Hudson's candidacy for Los Angeles board of education—"Daily People's Worker," March 12, 1947

H. Claude Hudson—Con't.

(8) Freedom from Fear Committee—sponsor of dinner-rally for Hollywood Ten, March 5, 1948—1948 California Report, page 241

(9) Independent Progressive Party of California—signer of statement—California "Eagle," December 24, 1947, page 20

(10) Joint Committee National Negro Congress and United Public Workers—speaker at mass meeting—pamphlet, May 25, 1947

(11) Los Angeles Emergency Committee to Aid the Strikers—sponsor—1948 California Report, page 279

(12) Mobilization for Democracy Conference—member—"Daily People's World," August 14, 1945

(13) Progressive Citizens of America—nominee for board of directors, Southern California Chapter—list of nominations, September 19, 1947

(14) Southern California Committee to Win the Peace—chairman—letterhead, August 9, 1946

(15) Win-the-Peace Conference—attended—"Daily Worker," April 3, 1946, page 5

Ruby Hurley, Southeastern Regional Secretary, NAACP:

(1) New York Youth Council—member of board of sponsors—letterhead, April 21, 1947

(2) United States Arrangements Committee, World Youth Congress—chairman of subcommittee on Negro youth—letterhead, July 24, 1945

(3) United States Arrangements Committee, World Youth Congress—member—letterhead, July 1945

William Lloyd Imes, Vice-President, NAACP:

(1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of petition to discontinue the Dies Committee—petition, January 17, 1940

(2) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—sponsor of rally—folder, April 13, 1940

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of fourth annual conference—letterhead, March 2-3, 1940

(4) American Congress for Peace and Democracy—endorser—leaflet, January 6-8, 1939

(5) American Friends of the Chinese People—sponsor of meeting—"Daily Worker," September 24, 1937, page 6

(6) American League for Peace and Democracy—sponsor of conference—"Daily Worker," January 11, 1938, page 2

(7) American League for Peace and Democracy—signer of statement for international cooperation—"New Masses," March 15, 1938, page 19

(8) American League for Peace and Democracy—member of advisory board—letterhead, March 21, 1939

(9) American League Against War and Fascism—contributor to "Fight"—"Fight," August 1936, page 4

(10) American League Against War and Fascism—signer of statement—"Daily Worker," February 27, 1937, page 2

William Lloyd Imes—Con't.

(11) American League Against War and Fascism—endorser of parade—"Daily Worker," July 26, 1937, page 5

(12) American League Against War and Fascism—sponsor of meeting—"Daily Worker," September 24, 1937, page 6

(13) American League Against War and Fascism—member of national executive committee—letterhead, November 3, 1937

(14) China Aid Council—sponsor—letterhead, June 11, 1938; January 9, 1941

(15) Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America—sponsor—program, June 7-9, 1940

(16) Conference on Pan American Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, November 16, 1938

(17) Consumers National Federation—sponsor—program, December 11-12, 1937

(18) Council on African Affairs—endorser of program—"New Africa," October 1945

(19) Emergency Peace Mobilization Committee of Greater New York—sponsor—letterhead, undated

(20) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—sponsor—program, February 12, 1940

(21) Harlem Coordinating Committee for Employment—affiliated with—"Daily Worker," May 23, 1938, page 5

(22) International Labor Defense—sent greetings to national conference—"Equal Justice," July 1939, pages 2-5

(23) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer—"Daily Worker," September 24, 1940, page 1

(24) National People's Committee Against Hearst (of American League Against War and Fascism)—member—letterhead, March 16, 1937

(25) New Masses Letter to the President—signer of letter in defense of Communists—"New Masses," April 2, 1940

(26) New York Peace Association—sponsor of mass meeting—leaflet, June 13, 1940

(27) Open Letter Protesting Attacks on Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—signer—"Daily Worker," February 21, 1940

(28) Protestant Digest Associates—sponsor of call to dinner-forum—leaflet, February 25, 1941

(29) Statement Attacking Investigations of Communists—signer—"Equality," January 1940, pages 24-25

Mrs. Raymond V. Ingersoll, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—sponsor—letterhead, January 21, 1946

(2) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—sponsor of Action Committee to Free Spain Now—letterhead, March 15, 1946

(3) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—sponsored functions of—survey of work of JAFRC, March 11, 1942-June 1944

(4) National Share-Croppers Fund—member of board—1948 California report, page 334

Mrs. Raymond V. Ingersoll—Con't.

(5) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sponsor—letterhead, March 15, 1946

Mrs. Henry A. Ingraham, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) Indusco — member of advisory board — letterhead, November 1950

Ira W. Jayne, Vice-President, NAACP:

(1) National Lawyers Guild—vice-president as of December 1949—House Committee Report on NLG, September 17, 1950, page 18

(2) National Lawyers Guild—vice-president as of May 1950—House Committee Report on NLG, September 17, 1950, page 19

Carl R. Johnson, National Legal Committee and Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Daily Worker," March 19, 1945, page 4

George M. Johnson, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) National Lawyers Guild—member of executive board, December 1949—House Committee report on National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, page 18

Mordecai W. Johnson, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Pushkin Committee—sponsor—letterhead, 1937; 1940

(2) W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee—honorary chairman and speaker—program, February 23, 1951

(3) Live and Let Live—signer of letter to members of Congress—letter, February 15, 1956

(4) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, May 25, 1952

(5) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—"PM," May 12, 1944, page 3; letterhead, March 8, 1946

(6) National Council Against Conscription—co-chairman—1948 California report, page 319

(7) National Council of Scientific, Professional, Art and White Collar Organizations—vice-president—letterhead, March 12, 1946

(8) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Worker," March 18, 1945, pages 1-3, magazine section

(9) New York Peace Institute—sent greetings—report on institute, April 19, 1952

(10) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor of first southwide conference on discrimination in higher education—program, April 8, 1950

(11) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—speaker at second conference—program, April 14-16, 1940

(12) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—sponsor of Washington Campaign Committee—program of dinner, May 22, 1946

Mordecai W. Johnson—Con't.

(13) Southern Negro Youth Congress—speaker—"Daily Worker," January 23, 1937, page 3

(14) Win-the-Peace Conference—speaker—"Daily Worker," April 4, 1946, page 2

Madison S. Jones, Special Assistant for Housing, NAACP:

(1) New York Youth Congress—speaker at rally—handbill, January 31, 1941

(2) New York Youth Congress—speaker at rally—"Daily Worker," October 17, 1941

Sidney A. Jones, Jr., National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) Chicago Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case—signer of open letter to President Truman—"Daily Worker," December 25, 1952, page 8

(2) Chicago Conference on Race Relations—member of sponsoring committee—call and program, July 22, 1939

(3) First Line of Defense—signer of statement—"Worker," August 29, 1948, page 9

(4) National Committee to Defeat the Mundt-Ferguson Bill, Chicago Chapter—signer of telegram—"Daily Worker," July 3, 1950, page 9

(5) National Lawyers Guild—member of executive board as of December 1949 and May 1950—House Committee report on National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, pages 18, 19

(6) National Negro Congress—endorser—call, February 14, 1936

Horace M. Kallen, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee to Save Refugees—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, October 9, 1941

(2) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," February 16, 1938, page 2

(3) American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia—member of book committee—letterhead, 1935

(4) American Student Union—member of sponsoring committee—"Student Advocate," February 1937, page 2

(5) American Youth for World Youth—member of board of directors—letterhead, March 1947

(6) Committee of One Thousand—signer of open letter urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities—"Daily Worker," January 3, 1949, page 7

(7) Consumers National Federation—sponsor—official leaflet, December 11-12, 1937

(8) Consumers Union—sponsor—folder, 1940

(9) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo—representative individual—official booklet, 1937

(10) Exiled Writers Committee of League of American Writers—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, October 9, 1941

(11) Film Audiences for Democracy—member of advisory board—letterhead, undated

(12) Films for Democracy—member of advisory board—letterhead, January 5, 1938

Horace M. Kallen—Con't.

(13) Friends of the Soviet Union—member of reception committee for the Soviet flyers—letterhead, September 1929

(14) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—sponsor—program, February 12, 1940

(15) International Committee for Political Prisoners—member of general committee—letterhead, June 1936

(16) National Committee to Aid Striking Miners Facing Starvation—sponsor—letterhead, January 30, 1933

(17) New York Tom Mooney Committee—sponsor—letterhead, June 5, 1939

(18) Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee—sponsor—letterhead, January 18, 1935

(19) United American Spanish Aid Committee—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, October 9, 1941

(20) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—signer of protest—"Daily Worker," February 21, 1940

Robert W. Kenny, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of letter—letterhead, May 26, 1940

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—letterhead, October 25, 1947; September 22, 1950; August 15, 1951; March 3, 1953; booklet, September 1954; letterhead, February 2, 1955; November 19, 1956; October 1957

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter to President Truman—"Worker," August 13, 1950, page 8

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter to Commission on Immigration and Naturalization—pamphlet, October 28, 1952

(5) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—endorser of statement—"Daily Worker," July 8, 1953, page 8

(6) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—speaker for—"Daily Worker," February 13, 1956, page 3

(7) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 25th anniversary national conference to be held in Chicago—letterhead, December 7-8, 1957

(8) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—endorser of appeal—folder, April 21, 1947

(9) American Continental Congress for World Peace—sponsor—"Daily Worker," July 29, 1949, page 5

(10) American Investors Union—sponsor—"New Republic," December 27, 1939

(11) American League for Peace and Democracy—member of national committee—letterhead, May 18, 1939

(12) American Slavery Congress—sponsor of dinner—program, October 12, 1947

(13) American Youth for Democracy—sponsor of San Francisco celebration—"People's Daily World," October 16, 1945, page 4

(14) Appeal for Amnesty for the Jailed Leaders of the Communist Party Convicted Under the Smith Act—signer—"Daily Worker," December 10, 1952, page 4

Robert W. Kenny—Con't.

(15) Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, Southern California Chapter—national vice-chairman—official ballot, September 1949

(16) Bachrach Open Letter—signer—letter, September 19, 1955

(17) Bay Area Council Against Discrimination—signer of statement—folder, 1942

(18) Bill of Rights Conference—initiating sponsor—call, July 16-17, 1949

(19) California Committee of One Hundred for Political Unity—sponsor—letterhead, October 2, 1937

(20) California Labor School—sponsor of dinner—program, February 27, 1949

(21) California Legislative Conference—chairman—program, February 25-26, 1950

(22) California Legislative Conference—sponsor—call, April 26-27, 1952

(23) China Conference Arrangements Committee—sponsor of conference on China and the Far East—call, October 18-20, 1946

(24) Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee—supporter—New York "Times," March 14, 1946

(25) Civil Rights Congress—sponsor of conference—"People's Daily World," April 6, 1950

(26) Civil Rights Congress—sponsor of fund-raising dinner—"People's Daily World," December 28, 1950

(27) Civil Rights Congress, Division of Mobilization for Democracy—Los Angeles sponsor—letterhead, April 23, 1948

(28) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—sponsor of conference on China and the Far East—call, October 18-20, 1946

(29) Committee to End Sedition Laws—signer of statement—press release, November 19, 1955

(30) Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell—signer of appeal—press release, February 21, 1957

(31) Consumers Union—sent greetings to—"Consumer Reports," August 1939

(32) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—official booklet, 1937

(33) Council of Greek Americans—signer of statement—"Daily Worker," August 13, 1952, page 8

(34) Council for Pan American Democracy—signer of open letter to save Luiz Carlos Prestes—"New Masses," December 3, 1940, page 28

(35) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—member of national council—letterhead, September 30, 1954; February 14, 1955; March 14, 1956; July 8, 1957

(36) Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sponsor—letterhead, March 23, 1939

(37) Hollywood Anti-Nazi League—sponsor—pamphlet, undated

(38) "Hollywood Independent"—writer for—"Hollywood Independent," August 1945

(39) Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—member of executive council—letterhead, October 2, 1945

(40) Hollywood League for Democratic Action—sponsor—leaflet, undated

Robert W. Kenny—Con't.

- (41) International Juridical Association—member of national committee—letterhead, May 18, 1942
- (42) International Labor Defense—sent greetings to conference, April 4-6, 1941—House Committee appendix to hearings, September 15, 1950, page 2992
- (43) International Workers Order—defended—"Daily Worker," June 18, 1951, page 8
- (44) John Caughlan Defense Committee—member of national lawyers defense committee—leaflet, 1949
- (45) John Howard Lawson Testimonial Dinner—sent complimentary salute—souvenir program, November 12, 1955
- (46) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—affiliated with—House Committee appendix to hearings, September 15, 1950, page 2992
- (47) Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain—honorary vice chairman—letterhead, March 5, 1938
- (48) Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain—honorary chairman—leaflet, 1939
- (49) Legislative Assembly — sponsor — "Worker," January 30, 1949, page 4
- (50) Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—folder, February 7, 1953
- (51) Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—letterhead, August 23, 1954
- (52) Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 6th annual conference to repeal the Walter McCarran Law and defends its victims—letterhead, May 17, 1956
- (53) Los Angeles Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case — speaker at meeting — "Daily Worker," November 27, 1952, page 3
- (54) Los Angeles Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case—sponsor—folder, 1953
- (55) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—member of Los Angeles sponsoring committee—letterhead, December 8, 1938
- (56) Mobilization for Democracy Conference—member—"People's Daily World," August 14, 1945
- (57) Motion Picture Artists Committee—sponsor—leaflet, undated
- (58) National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee to Aid Strikers Families—member of national board—"Worker," March 17, 1946, page 5
- (59) National Citizens Political Action Committee—vice-chairman and speaker—program of dinner, April 22, 1946
- (60) National Citizens Political Action Committee, Northern California Division — temporary chairman — program of dinner, April 22, 1946
- (61) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—"PM," May 12, 1944, page 3
- (62) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—letterhead, March 8, 1946
- (63) National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill—sponsor—pamphlet, April 1950
- (64) National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims — appealed for amnesty — leaflet, May 22, 1953

Robert W. Kenny—Con't.

- (65) National Committee to Win the Peace—vice-chairman—letterhead, June 1, 1946
- (66) National Committee to Win the Peace—sponsor of conference on China and the Far East—call, October 18-20, 1946
- (67) National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights — sponsor — letterhead, /October 10, 1950
- (68) National Conference to Defend the Rights of Foreign Born Americans — sponsor — souvenir journal, December 13-14, 1952; call and program, December 11-12, 1954
- (69) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer for Wallace—"Daily Worker," October 19, 1948, page 7
- (70) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions — sponsor of cultural and scientific conference on world peace—program, March 25-27, 1949
- (71) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—vice-chairman—letterhead, January 16, 1951
- (72) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions — vice-chairman — policy and program, April 26, 1953
- (73) National Lawyers Guild—president, 1940-1948—House Committee appendix to hearings, September 15, 1950, page 2991
- (74) National Lawyers Guild—executive board member as of December 1949 and May 1950—House Committee report on NLG, pages 18, 19
- (75) National Lawyers Guild — guest of honor at banquet—folder, October 25, 1957
- (76) National Mobilization—sponsor—"Daily Worker," March 5, 1946, page 3
- (77) National Negro Congress—sponsor of 10th convention, May 30-June 2, 1946—testimony of Walter Steele before House Committee, July 21, 1947, page 94
- (78) National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White-Collar Fields—sponsor—program, May 8-9, 1943
- (79) "New Masses" contributor—"New Masses," November 13, 1945.
- (80) Non-Partisan Committee for Clemency for the Rosenbergs—favored clemency — Los Angeles "Daily News," January 9, 1953
- (81) Open Letter to J. Howard McGrath—signer—St. Louis "Post-Dispatch," October 23, 1951
- (82) Petition Urging McGrath to Withdraw Contempt Proceedings against 17 Indicted for Contempt of Congress—signer—"Daily Worker," February 19, 1951, page 2
- (83) "People's Daily World"—plea for funds—"People's Daily World," November 16, 1956, page 1
- (84) Progressive Citizens of America—vice-chairman—"Daily Worker," December 30, 1946, page 12
- (85) Progressive Citizens of America—nominee for board of directors, Southern California Chapter—list of nominees, September 19, 1947
- (86) Progressive Citizens of America, Los Angeles—member—"People's Daily World," May 10, 1947, page 2

Robert W. Kenny—Con't.

- (87) Protect against Verdict of Guilty in Case of 11 Communist Leaders—spoke out against verdict—"Worker," October 30, 1949, page 3
- (88) Russian War Relief—signer of ad—New York "Times," October 10, 1941
- (89) Southern California Committee to Win the Peace—vice-chairman, national committee—letterhead, August 9, 1946
- (90) Southern California Conference to Defend the Rights of Foreign Born Americans—sponsor—program, February 7, 1953
- (91) Southern California Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims—sponsor—folder, April 7, 1956
- (92) Spanish Refugee Appeal—member, national committee of sponsors—folder, 1946
- (93) Spanish Refugee Appeal—signer of open letter urging anti-Franco stand—letter, April 27, 1949
- (94) Spanish Refugee Appeal—San Francisco sponsor—letterhead, October 1950
- (95) Statement Against U. S. Policy in Mexico—signer—"Daily Worker," May 6, 1940
- (96) Statement Urging Action to Defeat the Mundt Bill—signer—Los Angeles "Daily News," May 15, 1950
- (97) Stop Film Censorship Committee—endorser of statement—"Daily Worker," January 21, 1942, page 7
- (98) Testimonial Dinner for Jack Berman—to pay tribute to—"National Guardian," January 31, 1955, page 9
- (99) Testimonial Dinner Honoring C. B. Baldwin—chairman—"Daily Worker," August 14, 1952, page 2
- (100) United Negro and Allied Veterans of America—affiliated with—testimony of Walter Steele before House Committee, July 21, 1947, page 28
- (101) Win-the-Peace Conference—Sponsor—letterhead, February 28, 1946

Frank Kingdon, NAAC Committee of 100:

- (1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of petition to discontinue the Dies Committee—petition, January 17, 1940
- (2) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—sponsor of rally—folder, April 13, 1940
- (3) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—member of national executive committee—folder, May 26, 1940
- (4) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—endorser of appeal for funds—folder, April 21, 1947
- (5) American Slav Congress—speaker at meeting—"Daily Worker," December 26, 1944, page 2
- (6) Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee—supporter—New York "Times," March 14, 1946
- (7) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—presiding chairman—program, February 12, 1940
- (8) Independent Voters Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Roosevelt—speaker; member of educators committee—"Worker," October 22, 1944, page 13; "Daily Worker," October 23, 1944, page 2

Frank Kingdon—Con't.

- (9) John Reed Clubs—signer of protest against anti-Communist propaganda—New York "Times," May 19, 1930
- (10) Nation Associates—speaker at meeting—"Daily Worker," December 26, 1944, page 2
- (11) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, May 25, 1952
- (12) National Citizens Political Action Committee—vice-chairman—program of dinner for Wallace, April 22, 1946
- (13) National Emergency Conference—sponsor—call, May 13-14, 1939
- (14) National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White-Collar Fields—sponsor—program, May 8-9, 1943
- (15) Progressive Citizens of America—co-chairman—letterhead, April 24, 1947
- (16) United Student Peace Committee—signified sympathy with demonstrations—"Daily Worker," April 13, 1936, page 3
- (17) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—speaker—"Worker," December 31, 1944, page 12
- (18) Voice of Freedom Committee—speaker—"Daily Worker," May 7, 1947, page 8
- (19) Win-the-Peace Conference—sponsor—call, April 5-7, 1946

Freda Kirchwey, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) All-America Anti-Imperialist League—member of national committee—letterhead, April 11, 1928
- (2) American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature—sponsor—letterhead, March 24, 1939
- (3) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of petition to discontinue the Dies Committee—petition, January 17, 1940
- (4) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—sponsor—"Daily Worker," December 27, 1944, page 11
- (5) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—sponsor—letterhead, October 23, 1945
- (6) American Friends of the Chinese People—member of national advisory board—letterhead, May 16, 1940
- (7) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—sponsor—"New Masses," January 5, 1937, page 31
- (8) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—committee member—letterhead, February 21, 1938
- (9) American Investors Union—sponsor—"New Republic," December 27, 1939
- (10) American Society for Cultural Relations with Italy—member of board of directors—program, April 17, 1947
- (11) American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy—committee member—House Committee, 1938, page 568
- (12) American Student Union—member of sponsoring committee—"Student Advocate," February 1937, page 2
- (13) American Student Union—member of advisory board—application for membership.
- (14) Appeal for Pardon of German Communist—sponsor—"Daily Worker," June 17, 1937, page 2

Freda Kirchwey—Con't.

- (15) Citizens Committee to Aid Striking Seamen—member of advisory committee—letterhead, January 28, 1937
- (16) Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression—signer—"Daily Worker," February 1938
- (17) Committee for the Defense of the Imprisoned Needle Trades Workers—member—letterhead, March 29, 1927
- (18) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—member of board of directors—letterhead, March 19, 1948
- (19) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—official booklet, 1937
- (20) Descendants of the American Revolution—member of advisory board—folder, 1938
- (21) Descendants of the American Revolution—sponsor—"Daily Worker," January 21, 1938
- (22) Film Audiences for Democracy—member of advisory board—"Film Survey," June 1939
- (23) Films for Democracy — member of advisory board—letterhead, January 5, 1938; booklet, April 1939
- (24) Garland Fund—officer of—Appendix IX, page 764
- (25) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights — sponsor — program, February 12, 1940
- (26) "International Press Correspondence" — withdrew from a Trotsky defense committee—"International Press Correspondence," February 17, 1937
- (27) International Publishers — joined in honoring International Publishers on its 30th anniversary—"Masses & Mainstream," January 1955
- (28) Labor Defense Council — committee member — letterhead, April 6, 1923
- (29) League of Women Shoppers—sponsor—letterhead, April 12, 1940; July 7, 1941
- (30) League of Women Shoppers—sponsor of New York Chapter—letterhead, October 28, 1948
- (31) Medical Aid to Russia—sponsor—"Soviet Russia Today," September 1941, page 32
- (32) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—sponsor of Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign—leaflet, undated
- (33) Metropolitan Music School — advisory council member—catalog, 1953-54; 1954-55
- (34) Mother Ella Reeve Bloor Banquet—sponsor—folder, January 24, 1936
- (35) Nation Associates—vice-chairman of dinner forum—program, May 25, 1952
- (36) National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee to Aid Strikers Families—member of national board—"Worker," March 17, 1946, page 5
- (37) National Citizens Political Action Committee—member of executive committee and vice-chairman—official list, August 21, 1944
- (38) National Citizens Political Action Committee—vice-chairman of dinner committee—program, April 12, 1946

Freda Kirchwey—Con't.

- (39) National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners—signer of cable—"Daily Worker," June 17, 1937
- (40) National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case—urged clemency—leaflet, 1953
- (41) National Emergency Conference—signer of call—program, May 13-14, 1939
- (42) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—signer of statement—"Daily Worker," May 13, 1940
- (43) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—member of board of sponsors—letterhead, February 15, 1940
- (44) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943
- (45) National Peoples Committee Against Hearst of the American League Against War and Fascism—member—letterhead, March 16, 1937
- (46) "New Masses"—member of executive board—October 1927 issue of "New Masses"
- (47) "New Masses"—member of board of trustees—statement of ownership, April 6, 1928
- (48) "New Masses"—contributing editor—"New Masses, June 1928
- (49) New York Citizens Emergency Committee to Aid Strikers Families—member—letterhead, undated
- (50) Progressive Citizens of America—vice-chairman—"Daily Worker," December 30, 1946, page 12
- (51) Russian War Relief—sponsor of appeal—New York "Times," October 10, 1941
- (52) Schappes Defense Committee—signer of open letter to Governor Thomas E. Dewey — New York "Times," October 9, 1944, page 12
- (53) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—sponsor—House Committee report on SCHW, page 15
- (54) Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign—sponsor—letterhead, March 27, 1940
- (55) Stop Film Censorship Committee—endorser of statement—"Daily Worker," January 21, 1942, page 7
- (56) Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Ferdinand C. Smith—sponsor—program, September 20, 1944
- (57) "Woman Today"—member of advisory board—"Woman Today," October 1936
- (58) Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—signer of open letter asking President Eisenhower to call off H-bomb tests—New York "Times," May 7, 1956, page 21; "Daily Worker," May 8, 1956, pages 1, 8
- (59) World Congress of Intellectuals — attended meeting at Wroclaw, Poland, August 25-28, 1948—House Committee report on the Communist peace offensive, page 9

John Howland Lathrop, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) Ad Hoc Committee to Re-establish the Right of Public Platform for Peace Groups—signer of application—"Daily Worker," September 1, 1950, page 4
- (2) Ambijan—sponsor of Brooklyn division—folder, August 1945

John Howland Lathrop—Con't.

- (3) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of petition to discontinue the Dies Committee—petition, January 17, 1940
- (4) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of letter—letterhead, May 26, 1940
- (5) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of National Conference Against Deportation Hysteria—call and program, December 3-4, 1949
- (6) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of statement condemning deportations—leaflet, August 1950
- (7) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of telegram—"Daily Worker," December 2, 1952, page 3
- (8) American Council for a Democratic Greece—signer of petition—"Daily Worker," July 4, 1949, page 4
- (9) American Labor Party—affiliated with "Review of Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace," page 22
- (10) American Peace Mobilization—affiliated with—"Review of Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace," page 8
- (11) American Welcoming Committee for World Peace Delegation—member—press release, March 2, 1950
- (12) American Youth Congress—signer of call to New York State Model Legislature of Youth—proceedings, January 28-30, 1938
- (13) Appeal for Amnesty for Eleven Communist Party Leaders—signer—press release, January 13, 1953
- (14) Bachrach Open Letter—signer—letter, September 19, 1955
- (15) Brief—"Amici Curiae" for the Communist Party—initiator—U. S. Supreme Court, October 1955
- (16) Brooklyn Citizens Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill—headed by—"Daily Worker," April 10, 1950, page 4
- (17) Brooklyn Citizens Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill—speaker—"Daily Worker," May 18, 1950, page 5
- (18) Brooklyn Peace Conference—signer of Brooklyn peace appeal—"Worker," August 20, 1950, page 3
- (19) China Welfare Appeal—sponsor—letterhead, September 12, 1950; January 22, 1951
- (20) Christmas Appeal for Parole of Hollywood Eight—signer—"Daily Worker," December 22, 1950, page 9
- (21) Citizens Committee to Defend Representative Government—signer of letter calling for seating Simon Gerson in New York City Council—New York "Times," February 19, 1948, page 13
- (22) Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War—sponsor—letterhead, August 10, 1940
- (23) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—sponsor—program, January 23-25, 1948

John Howland Lathrop—Con't.

- (24) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense—member of committee of sponsors—booklet, August 1945
- (25) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of statement to President Truman—press release, December 14, 1949
- (26) Committee to Re-establish the Right of Public Platform for Peace Groups—member—"Daily Worker," September 8, 1950, page 4
- (27) Committee to Retain Gilgoff and Rosenbaum in the New York City School System—signer of statement—"Daily Worker," December 17, 1951, page 5
- (28) Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell—signer of appeal—press release, February 21, 1957
- (29) Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson—member—"Daily Worker," September 22, 1948, page 5
- (30) Conference Against Mundt and Ferguson Bills—sponsor—"Daily Worker," June 1, 1949, page 6
- (31) Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of open letter to Congress—letter to Congress—letter, August 21, 1949
- (32) Consumers National Federation—sponsor—official leaflet, December 11-12, 1937
- (33) Emergency Peace Mobilization—sponsor—leaflet, August 31-September 2, 1940
- (34) Emergency Peace Mobilization Committee of Greater New York—sponsor—letterhead, undated
- (35) End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee—sponsor—letterhead, August 6, 1945
- (36) Gerson Supporters—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," March 4, 1938
- (37) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—sponsor—program, February 12 1940
- (38) Hiroshima Commemorative Committee—sponsor—letterhead, July 21, 1955
- (39) Interfaith Committee for Peace Action—sponsor—leaflet, October 7, 1951
- (40) Live and Let Live—signer of statement—New York "Times," April 19, 1955, page 22
- (41) Melish Brief "Amici Curiae"—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, January 11, 1951
- (42) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—sponsor—call, May 29-30, 1950
- (43) National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims—appealed for amnesty—leaflet, May 22, 1953
- (44) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—sponsor of Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace—official list, March 25, 1949
- (45) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer of statement on Korea—"Daily Worker," August 7, 1950, page 8
- (46) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer of ad—St. Louis "Post-Dispatch," June 20, 1951

John Howland Lathrop—Con't.

(47) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of statement calling for peaceful settlement of U. S.-U.S.S.R. differences—statement, June 23, 1948

(48) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of statement urging American-Soviet peace pact—"Daily Worker," February 17, 1949, page 4

(49) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Worker," March 18, 1945, pages 1-3, magazine section

(50) New York Conference for Inalienable Rights—signer of telegram—"Daily Worker," September 17, 1940, pages 1, 5

(51) New York State Conference on National Unity—member—program, December 6, 1941

(52) Open Letter Opposing Military Aid to Spain—signer—"Daily Worker," May 17, 1951, pages 2, 9

(53) Open Letter to President Eisenhower on Morton Sobell—signer—"Daily Worker," May 11, 1956, pages 3, 8

(54) Open Letter to President Roosevelt Protesting Deportation Order Against Harry R. Bridges—signer—letter, April 22, 1943

(55) People's Institute of Applied Religion—sponsor—letterhead, April 9, 1942; January 1, 1948; April 16, 1953

(56) Petition for Rehearing of Contempt Cases of Hollywood 10—signer—"Daily Worker," May 12, 1950, page 3

(57) Religious Freedom Committee—signer of letter asking support in formation of the committee—letter, April 8, 1954

(58) Resolution to Bar Teachers Union from School System—opposed—"Daily Worker," April 7, 1950, page 5

(59) Rosenberg Clemency Appeal—signer—"Daily Worker," January 13, 1953, page 2

(60) Schappes Defense Committee—signer of open letter to Governor Thomas E. Dewey—New York "Times," October 9, 1944, page 12

(61) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—sponsor and signer—press release, October 31, 1947

(62) Statement Supporting Dissenting Opinions of Black and Douglas Toward Smith Act—signer—"Masses & Mainstream," August 1951, page 18

Westley W. Law, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor of southwestern regional conference on integration—folder, May 17, 1955

W. Appleton Lawrence, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—saluted Bishop Moulton—"Daily Worker," May 5, 1953, page 8

W. Appleton Lawrence—Con't.

(2) American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the Second World Peace Congress—initial sponsor—"Daily Worker, October 19, 1950, page 3

(3) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of statement to President Truman—press release, December 14, 1949

(4) Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson—member—"Daily Worker," September 22, 1948, page 5

(5) Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of letter to the Senate—letter, July 7, 1949

(6) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, January 19, 1951

(7) Peace Now Movement—contributed \$75—House Committee report, February 17, 1944, page 3

(8) "Peace Sunday" Committee—member—"Daily Worker," April 6, 1950, page 2

(9) Springfield (Mass.) Petition to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer—"Daily Worker," December 20, 1950, page 5

(10) Witness Statement on Korea—signer "Worker," August 27, 1950, page 5

(11) Witness Statement for Seating Red China in UN—signer—"Daily Worker," August 21, 1950, page 2

Herbert H. Lehman, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sent telegram of congratulation to convention of, September 21, 1946—testimony before Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, September 9, 1949

(2) American Committee to Save Refugees—member of committee of sponsors of dinner-forum—program, October 9, 1941

(3) Council Against Intolerance in America—member—letterhead, October 1952

(4) Exiled Writers Committee of League of American Writers—member of committee of sponsors of dinner-forum—program, October 9, 1941

(5) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, May 25, 1952

(6) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of congress—leaflet, November 8, 1943

(7) Russian War Relief—signer of ad—New York "Times," October 10, 1941

(8) United American Spanish Aid Committee—member of committee of sponsors of dinner-forum—program, October 9, 1941

(9) U. S.-Soviet Friendship Rallies—sponsor of 10th anniversary U. S.-Soviet Friendship Congress—"Daily Worker," September 29, 1943, page 5

Henry Smith Leiper, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression—sponsor—letterhead, January 1940

(2) American Committee to Save Refugees—sponsor—letterhead, September 30, 1940; October 1941

Henry Smith Leiper—Con't.

(3) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—sponsor—letterhead, August 6, 1945

(4) Churchman Associates Dinner Presenting Award to G. Bromley Oxnam—member of honorary committee—program, February 23, 1949

(5) Committee to Save Spain and China—sponsor—"New Masses," November 15, 1938, page 27

(6) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—official booklet, 1937

(7) Council Against Intolerance in America—member—letterhead, October 1952

(8) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—sponsor—program, February 12, 1940

(9) League for Fair Play—speaker—leaflet, 1945-1946 season

(10) Nation Associates—sponsor—program, October 13, 1947

(11) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—signer of open letter—folder, circa 1940

(12) New York State Conference on National Unity—speaker—program, December 6, 1941

(13) Open Letter to President Roosevelt Protesting Deportation Order Against Harry R. Bridges—signer—letter, April 22, 1943

(14) Russian War Relief—member of religious committee—letterhead, 1943

(15) Statement Protesting Court Decision in Chooolian Case—signer—"Daily Worker," February 25, 1949, page 4

Max Lerner, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) Allied Voters Against Coudert—sponsor—leaflet, October 1942

(2) American Committee for Anti-Nazi German Seamen—member—letterhead, December 8, 1938; January 6, 1939

(3) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of petition to discontinue the Dies Committee—petition, January 17, 1940

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—letterhead, September 11, 1941

(5) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—guest of honor—program of dinner, April 17, 1943

(6) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—sponsor—"New Masses," January 5, 1937, page 31

(7) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—member—letterhead, February 21, 1938

(8) American Friends of the Soviet Union—affiliated with—Appendix IX, page 379

(9) American Investors Union—sponsor—"New Republic," December 27, 1939, back cover

(10) American League for Peace and Democracy—congress endorser—leaflet, January 6-8, 1939

(11) American League for Peace and Democracy—signer of statement on international situation—"New Masses," March 15, 1938, page 19

Max Lerner—Con't.

(12) American Student Union—affiliated with—Appendix IX, page 514

(13) American Youth Congress—endorser—press release, undated

(14) Appeal for Pardon of German Communist—sponsor of appeal—"Daily Worker," June 17, 1937, page 2

(15) Ben Leiber Memorial Fund—member—"New Masses," March 23, 1937, page 2

(16) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—signer of appeal—leaflet, 1942

(17) Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges—member—letterhead, September 11, 1941

(18) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—sponsor—booklet, September 25, 1943, page 30

(19) Conference on Pan American Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, November 16, 1938

(20) Consumers National Federation—sponsor—booklet, December 11-12, 1937

(21) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—official booklet, 1937

(22) Frontier Films—member of advisory board—"Daily Worker," April 6, 1937, page 9

(23) Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union—sent greetings—"Soviet Russia Today," November 1937, page 79

(24) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—initiating sponsor—"Worker," December 24, 1944, page 14; letterhead, April 12, 1946

(25) League of American Writers—affiliated with—Appendix IX, page 967

(26) Michigan Civil Rights Federation—speaker—program, December 1, 1939

(27) National Citizens Political Action Committee—member—official list, August 28, 1944

(28) National Citizens Political Action Committee—vice chairman of dinner committee—program, April 12, 1946

(29) National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case—listed as a clemency supporter—leaflet, 1953

(30) National Conference on Social Work—speaker—"Daily Worker," March 12, 1943, page 3

(31) National Emergency Conference—sponsor—program, May 13, 1939

(32) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—sponsor—letterhead, February 15, 1940

(33) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of open letter—news release, December 26, 1941

(34) "New Masses"—affiliated with—Appendix IX, page 1350

(35) Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio—member—letterhead, October 3, 1936

(36) Open Letter to American Liberals—signer—"Soviet Russia Today," March 1937, pages 14-15

Max Lerner—Con't.

(37) Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union—signer—"Soviet Russia Today," September 1939, page 24

(38) Prestes Defense—signer of protest—"Daily Worker," February 13, 1937, page 2

(39) Russian War Relief—sponsor of appeal—New York "Times," October 10, 1941

(40) "Soviet Russia Today"—contributor—"Soviet Russia Today," November 8, 1938

(41) Statement Defending the Communist Party—signer—"Daily Worker," March 5, 1941

(42) Statement Against U. S. Policy in Mexico—signer—"Daily Worker," May 6, 1940

(43) Supporters of Anti-Nazi Seamen—sponsor—application for tickets, April 30, 1937

Alfred Baker Lewis, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) Greater Boston Peace Strike Committee—sponsor—leaflet, April 22, 1937

(2) League for Mutual Aid—member of advisory committee—letterhead, March 11, 1938

(3) National Citizens Political Action Committee—member—official list, August 28, 1944

(4) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of open letter—booklet, September 11, 1942

(5) National Negro Congress—sent greetings—report of second National Negro Congress, October 1937

(6) National Sharecroppers Fund—affiliated with—1948 California report, page 334

(7) New York Citizens Emergency Committee to Aid Strikers' Families—member—letterhead, undated

(8) Open Letter on Harry Bridges—signer—"Daily Worker," July 19, 1942, page 4

Karl N. Llewellyn, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) American Youth for Democracy—chairman of meeting—"Daily Worker," March 19, 1946, page 2

(2) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—speaker—program, February 12, 1940

(3) International Juridical Association—member of national committee—leaflet, undated

(4) Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio—vice chairman—letterhead, October 3, 1936

Myra Logan, National Health Committee, NAACP:

(1) Physicians Forum—sponsor—program, October 8, 1949

Archibald MacLeish, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—"Daily Worker," February 20, 1940

(2) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—member of committee—letterhead, February 21, 1938

(3) American League for Peace and Democracy—member of writers and artists committee—letterhead, April 6, 1939

(4) American Pushkin Committee—sponsor—letterhead, 1937

Archibald MacLeish—Con't.

(5) American Russian Institute—wrote article for "American Review of the Soviet Union—Daily Worker," November 22, 1944, page 11

(6) American Youth Congress—member of national advisory board—pamphlet, 1936, page 63; letterhead, July 4, 1937

(7) American Youth Congress—speaker at New York dinner—"Daily Worker," February 21, 1939, page 3

(8) Committee for the First Amendment—member—"People's Daily World," October 29, 1947, page 3

(9) Committee to Lift the Ban on the Nation—sponsor—program, February 5-7, 1950

(10) Connecticut Writers Conference—speaker—"New Masses," December 20, 1938, page 20

(11) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—official booklet, 1937

(12) Film and Photo League—contributor—"New Theatre," March 1935, page 10

(13) Foster Parents Plan for Children in Spain—sponsor—letterhead, October 31, 1938

(14) Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sponsor—letterhead, September 13, 1937; September 10, 1938; March 23, 1939

(15) Frontier Films—member of advisory board—"Daily Worker," April 6, 1937, page 9

(16) History Today—member of board of directors—"Films for Democracy," April 1939, page 2

(17) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—speaker—New York "Times," February 19, 1945, page 10

(18) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—vice-chairman—"Independent," July 1945

(19) International Labor Defense—sponsor of milk drive—"Equal Justice," June 1939

(20) Julius Rosenthal Memorial Committee—patron—"New Masses," June 29, 1937, page 25

(21) League of American Writers—speaker—"New Masses," April 20, 1937, page 32

(22) League of American Writers—member of national council—bulletin, Summer 1938, page 2

(23) League of Workers Theatres—writer for—"New Theatre," March 1935, page 10

(24) Medical Aid Division of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign—sponsor—leaflet, 1940

(25) Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy—member of committee—letterhead, November 18, 1936

(26) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—member of writers and artists committee—letterhead, July 6, 1938

(27) Motion Picture Artists Committee—sponsor—leaflet, 1940

(28) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, October 13, 1947

(29) National Writers Congress—signer of call—"New Masses," May 4, 1937, page 25

Archibald MacLeish—Con't.

- (30) "New Masses"—writer for—December 17, 1935, page 23; August 4, 1936, page 12; September 1, 1936, page 25; June 22, 1937, page 5; August 24, 1937, page 18
- (31) "New Theatre"—contributor—"New Theatre," March 1935, page 10; August 1935, page 3
- (32) "Partisan Review"—contributor—"Partisan Review," February-March 1934
- (33) Russian War Relief—signer of appeal—New York "Times," October 10, 1941
- (34) "Soviet Russia Today"—contributor—"Soviet Russia Today," June 1942
- (35) Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign—sponsor—letterhead, November 16, 1939
- (36) Writers and Artists Committee for Medical Aid to Spain—endorser—"Daily Worker, January 12, 1938, page 7
- (37) Writers Congress—speaker—"New Masses," June 15, 1937, page 9
- (38) Workers Dance League—writer for—"New Theatre," March 1935, page 10

Arthur J. Mandell, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

- (1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—Houston counsel for—"Lamp," November-December 1947, page 3
- (2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—Houston counsel for—"Lamp," March 1948, page 4
- (3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sent message to conference of; elected to board of directors of—call, program, and summary proceedings of conference, December 3-4, 1949
- (4) Civil Rights Congress—sponsor of conference—program, November 21-23, 1947
- (5) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor (an auxiliary of International Labor Defense)—sponsor—booklet, August 1945, page 15
- (6) First Congress of the Mexican and Spanish American Peoples of the United States—signer of call—call, March 24-26, 1939
- (7) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943
- (8) National Wallace for President Committee—member—press release, March 23, 1948
- (9) Southern Conference Educational Fund—endorser of declaration—folder, November 20, 1948

Leopold Mannes, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) Artists Front to Win the War—sponsor of mass meeting—program, October 16, 1942
- (2) Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee—supporter—New York "Times," March 14, 1946

C. Herbert Marshall, National Health Committee, NAACP:

- (1) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors and medical advisory com-

C. Herbert Marshall—Con't.

- mittee—letterhead, July 1954; April 1955; November 1, 1956
- (2) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF—letter, June 10, 1954
- (3) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor of open letter on civil rights legislation—"Southern Patriot," September 1957, page 2
- (4) Statement Against the Mundt-Nixon Bill—signer of ad—Washington "Post," May 18, 1948, page 15
- (5) Washington Committee for Democratic Action—sponsor of conference on civil rights—letterhead, April 26, 1940
- (6) Washington Committee for Democratic Action—member of executive committee—letterhead, May 23, 1941

O. Clay Maxwell, Vice-President, NAACP:

- (1) Melish Brief "Amici Curiae"—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, January 11, 1951
- (2) New York State Conference of Negro Youth—participated in—program, April 15-16, 1944
- (3) Rosenberg Clemency Appeal—sponsor of letter to President Truman—"Daily Worker," January 14, 1953, page 1
- (4) Rosenberg Clemency Appeal—signer of letter to President Eisenhower—press release, February 13, 1953

Benjamin E. Mays, Board of Directors, NAACP:

- (1) African Aid Committee—sponsor—letterhead, May 28, 1949; January 20, 1950
- (2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter—"Lamp," May 1948, page 4
- (3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 15th anniversary national conference—program, December 11-12, 1948
- (4) American Crusade to End Lynching—signer of call to pilgrimage to Washington—call, September 23, 1946
- (5) American Round Table on India—member—letterhead, 1941
- (6) Churchman Associates Dinner Presenting Award to G. Bromley Oxnam—member of honorary committee—program, February 23, 1949
- (7) Civil Rights Congress—signer of call—"Daily Worker," October 21, 1947, page 5
- (8) Civil Rights Congress—honorary co-chairman—letterhead, December 16, 1947
- (9) Civil Rights Congress, Division of Mobilization for Democracy—national co-chairman—letterhead, April 23, 1948
- (10) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense—sponsor—booklet, 1946, page 12
- (11) Committee for Free Political Advocacy—signer—letterhead, March 30, 1950
- (12) Congress on Civil Rights—member of initiating committee—program, April 27-28, 1946

Benjamin E. Mays—Con't.

(13) W. E. B. DeBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee—honorary chairman and sponsor—program, February 23, 1951

(14) Fraternal Council of Churches in America—signer of statement urging rejection of the Atlantic Pact—"Daily Worker," June 28, 1949, page 2

(15) Legislative Assembly—sponsor—"Worker," January 30, 1949, page 4

(16) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—initiating sponsor—letterhead, June 19, 1950

(17) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, January 19, 1951

(18) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of committee on education—bulletin, June 1945

(19) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of open letter on Harry Bridges—"Daily Worker," July 19, 1942, page 4

(20) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of petition for Bridges—booklet, September 11, 1942

(21) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Worker," March 18, 1945, pages 1-3, magazine section

(22) National Non-Partisan Delegation to Washington for Passage of Civil Rights Legislation—co-sponsor—letterhead, June 2, 1948

(23) Negro Leaders' Defense of the Communist Party—signer of manifesto against outlawing the Communist Party—press release, April 21, 1947

(24) Open Letter to Congress to Reject the North Atlantic Pact and to Truman to Initiate Direct Negotiations with the Soviet Union—signer—"Daily Worker," April 13, 1949, page 4

(25) Southern Conference Educational Fund—endorser of declaration on civil rights—folder, November 20, 1948

(26) Southern Conference Educational Fund—chairman of first southwide conference on discrimination in higher education—program, April 8, 1950

(27) Southern Conference Educational Fund—vice-president—letterhead, January 1951

(28) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—member of nominating committee, 1947-1948—House Committee report on Southern Conference for Human Welfare, page 14

(29) Statement Condemning Drive to War and Destruction of Our People's Rights—signer—"Daily Worker," May 27, 1941, page 5

(30) United Negro and Allied Veterans of America—consultant—"Daily Worker," May 31, 1947, page 12

(31) Win-the-Peace Conference—sponsor—program, April 5-6, 1946

Edward C. Mazique, National Health Committee, NAACP:

(1) National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership—sponsor of appeal—"Worker," December 14, 1952, page 4; leaflet, March 1953

James J. McClendon, National Health Committee and Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—favored clemency—letterhead, April 1942

(2) Civil Rights Institute—sponsor of conference—call and program, December 1-2, 1939

(3) Michigan Civil Rights Federation—sponsor—call to state-wide conference, September 12, 1941

(4) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—sponsor of national action conference for civil rights—call and program, April 19-21, 1940

(5) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Worker," March 18, 1945, page 2

(6) National Free Browder Congress—sponsor—"Daily Worker," March 16, 1942, pages 1, 4

Robert J. McCracken, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) Churchman Associates Dinner Presenting Award to G. Bromley Oxnam—member of honorary committee—program, February 23, 1949

(2) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—sponsor and signer—press release, October 31, 1947

Karl A. Menninger, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of petition to discontinue the Dies Committee—petition, January 17, 1940

(2) American Committee to Save Refugees—signer of statement—folder, 1940

(3) Council for Pan American Democracy—signer of open letter to the President of Brazil to save Luis Carlos Prestes—"New Masses," December 3, 1940, page 28

(4) League of American Writers—contributor—booklet, March 1939

(5) League of American Writers—guest of honor—bulletin of LAW, Summer 1938, page 4

(6) Medical Aid to Russia—sponsor—"Soviet Russia Today," September 1941, page 32

(7) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of petition opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943

(8) Russian War Relief—sponsor of appeal—New York "Times," October 10, 1941

(9) Statement in Defense of the Bill of Rights—signer—leaflet, January 1940

Loren Miller, National Legal Committee and Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) American Writers Union—member of advisory committee—leaflet, undated

Loren Miller—Con't.

(2) Book Union—member of advisory council—letterhead, undated

(3) Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity—co-chairman—leaflet, March 14, 1956

(4) "Daily Worker"—reporter for—"Daily Worker," December 21, 1935, page 3

(5) Harry Bridges Defense Committee—member of southern division—letterhead, August 24, 1939

(6) League of Struggle for Negro Rights—member of national council—Appendix IX, page 1001

(7) Los Angeles Workers School— instructor — announcement of courses, fall term, 1934

(8) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—member of sponsoring committee—letterhead, December 8, 1938

(9) Mobilization for Democracy Conference—member—"People's Daily World," August 14, 1945

(10) National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners—speaker—"New Masses," October 22, 1935, page 29

(11) National Lawyers Guild—member—1948 California Report, page 332

(12) National Negro Congress—endorser—call, February 14, 1936

(13) National Scottsboro Action Committee—member of executive committee—"Daily Worker," May 3, 1933, page 2

(14) "New Masses"—contributor—numerous issues of "New Masses," 1935; associate editor—"New Masses," January 14, 1936; contributing editor—numerous issues of "New Masses," 1937 and 1938

(15) Open Letter to American Liberals—signer—"Soviet Russia Today," March 1937, pages 14-15

(16) "Partisan"—contributor—Appendix IX, page 1389

(17) Progressive Citizens of America, Los Angeles—member—"People's Daily World," May 10, 1947, page 2

(18) Soviet Propaganda Film Group—member of committee which selected the group to go to Russia; member of the group—New York "Herald Tribune," June 14, 1932, page 16

(19) Western Writers Congress—participant, November 13, 1936—testimony of Harper Knowles before House Committee, October 25, 1938

L. Pearl Mitchell, Vice-President, NAACP:

(1) National Negro Congress—endorser—call, February 14, 1936

(2) Ohio Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—elected a director at organization meeting—Cleveland "Plain Dealer," February 3, 1941

Henry Lee Moon, Director of Public Relations, NAACP:

(1) National Negro Congress—member of national executive council—official proceedings, February 14-16, 1936, page 40

(2) Soviet Propaganda Film Group—member of delegation going to Russia—New York "Herald Tribune," June 14, 1932

Henry Lee Moon—Con't.

(3) Washington Bookshop—member—House Committee, 1943

Wayne Morse: Vice-President, NAACP:

(1) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—participant in round table discussion—New York "Times," February 19, 1945, page 10

(2) National Council of Scientific, Professional, Art and White Collar Organizations—speaker—"Daily Worker," April 20, 1943, page 5

(3) National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White-Collar Fields—speaker—program, May 8-9, 1943

John A. Morsell, Assistant to the Executive Secretary, NAACP:

(1) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—delegate—booklet, September 25, 1943, page 27

James M. Nabrit, Jr., National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor and speaker at first southwide conference on discrimination in higher education—program, April 8, 1950

Reinhold Niebuhr, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Nonparticipation in Japanese Aggression—member of national board—letterhead, January 1940

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 4th annual conference—letterhead, March 2-3, 1940

(3) American Friends of the Chinese People—member of committee of sponsors of meeting, October 1—"Daily Worker," September 24, 1937, page 6

(4) American Friends of the Chinese People—member of national advisory board—letterhead, May 16, 1940

(5) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—sponsor—"New Masses," January 5, 1937, page 31

(6) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," February 16, 1938, page 2

(7) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—member of executive committee—letterhead, February 21, 1938

(8) American Labor Party—sponsor of mass rally—program, undated

(9) American League for Peace and Democracy—sponsor—"Daily Worker," January 11, 1938, page 2

(10) American League for Peace and Democracy—signer of resolution—"Daily Worker," January 18, 1938, page 3

(11) American League for Peace and Democracy—endorser of congress—leaflet, January 6-8, 1939

(12) American League for Peace and Democracy—member of national committee—letterhead, May 18, 1939

(13) American League Against War and Fascism—member of committee of sponsors of meeting, October 1—"Daily Worker," September 24, 1937, page 6

Reinhold Niebuhr—Con't.

- (14) American League Against War and Fascism—endorser of congress—letterhead, November 3, 1937
- (15) American Round Table on India—member—letterhead, 1941
- (16) American Student Union—member of advisory board—leaflet, undated.
- (17) American Student Union—member of sponsoring committee—program, March 21, 1937
- (18) China Aid Council—sponsor—letterhead, June 11, 1938; January 9, 1941
- (19) Citizens Committee to Aid Striking Seamen—member of advisory committee—letterhead, January 28, 1937
- (20) Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression—signer of appeal—"Daily Worker," February 25, 1938, page 1
- (21) Committee to Lift the Ban on the "Nation"—sponsor—program, February 5-7, 1950
- (22) Consumers National Federation—sponsor—official leaflet, December 11-12, 1937
- (23) Committee on Militarism in Education—member of national council—letterhead, October 1, 1935
- (24) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—sponsor—official booklet, 1937
- (25) Council Against Intolerance in America—member—letterhead, October 1952
- (26) Detroit Council for Protection of Foreign Born Workers—member of advisory board—letterhead, April 22, 1928
- (27) Gerson Supporters—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," March 4, 1938
- (28) Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy—member of executive committee—letterhead, undated
- (29) National Citizens Political Action Committee—member—official list, August 28, 1944
- (30) National Religion and Labor Foundation—member—Appendix IX, page 1304
- (31) People's Congress for Democracy and Peace—endorser—letterhead, November 1937
- (32) "Protestant Digest"—member of editorial board—letterhead, December 27, 1939
- (33) "Protestant Digest"—editorial adviser—"Protestant Digest," February 1940
- (34) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF—letter, June 10, 1954

T. G. Nutter, Vice-President and National Legal Committee, NAACP:

- (1) National Negro Congress—endorser—call, February 14, 1936
- (2) Open Letter Condemning Attack on Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer—Arkansas "State Press," March 26, 1954, pages 1, 4

G. Bromley Oxnham, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) Action Committee to Free Spain Now—sponsor—letterhead, March 15, 1946

G. Bromley Oxnham—Con't.

- (2) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—sponsor—"New Masses," October 30, 1945; letterhead, January 1946
- (3) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—sponsor—letterhead, July 23, 1948
- (4) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—sponsor of Christmas drive—folder, undated
- (5) American Crusade to End Lynching—signer of call to pilgrimage to Washington—call; September 23, 1946
- (6) American Round Table on India—member—letterhead, 1941
- (7) American Russian Institute—wrote introduction to booklet—booklet, "An American Churchman in the Soviet Union," 1946
- (8) American Slav Congress—speaker at meeting—"Daily Worker," December 26, 1944, page 2
- (9) Council Against Intolerance in America—member—letterhead, October 1952
- (10) Friends of Italian Democracy—member—program of official dinner, April 17, 1947
- (11) Greater Boston Reception Committee to the Russian Delegation—member of national committee—"Jewish Advocate," July 16, 1943
- (12) Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship—chairman—"Daily Worker," April 15, 1943, page 6
- (13) Medical Bureau and Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, February 2, 1939
- (14) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—national sponsor—letterhead, December 8, 1938
- (15) Methodist Federation for Social Action—signer of statement defending MFSA after Kansas City meeting—leaflet, December 27-29, 1947
- (16) Methodist Federation for Social Service—vice-president and member of executive committee—letterhead, April 12, 1946
- (17) Nation Associates—speaker at meeting—"Daily Worker," December 26, 1944, page 2
- (18) Nation Associates—co-chairman of dinner committee—program of dinner-forum, May 25, 1952
- (19) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—letterhead, March 8, 1946
- (20) National Committee on Atomic Information—member of committee of sponsors—"Atomic Information," October 20, 1946, page 2
- (21) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor—"Daily Worker," April 15, 1943, page 6; letterhead, November 19, 1945
- (22) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of U. S.-Soviet friendship celebrations—"Daily Worker," November 12, 1944, page 8, magazine
- (23) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—spoke in tribute to the 27th anniversary of the Soviet Union—"Daily Worker," November 15, 1944, page 3
- (24) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943

G. Bromley Oxnam—Cont.

- (25) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer—news release, December 26, 1941
- (26) Open Letter Protesting Deportation Order Against Harry Bridges—signer—letter, April 22, 1943
- (27) Progressive Citizens of America, Arts, Sciences and Professions Council—signer of open letter on the Hollywood Ten—"Daily Worker," December 1, 1947, page 3
- (28) "Protestant"—editorial advisor—"Protestant," December-January 1942; June-July 1942; letterhead, October 7, 1941
- (29) Protestant Digest Associates—sponsor of call to dinner-forum—leaflet, February 25, 1941
- (30) "Soviet Russian Today"—contributor—"Soviet Russia Today,"—January 1946, page 3
- (31) Spanish Refugee Appeal, San Francisco Chapter—Oxnam supported by—"People's Daily World," August 5, 1953, page 3
- (32) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—sponsor and signer—press release, October 31, 1947
- (33) United States - Soviet Friendship Congress—sponsor—"Daily Worker," September 29, 1943, page 5
- (34) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Bay Area Post—Oxnam supported by—"People's Daily World," August 5, 1953, page 3
- (35) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—speaker at meeting—"Daily Worker," December 27, 1944, page 2
- (36) Churchman Associates—received 1949 award—program of dinner, February 23, 1949

Myles A. Paige, National Health Committee, NAACP:

- (1) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—sponsor—booklet, September 25, 1943, page 30
- (2) Testimonial Dinner Honoring Ferdinand C. Smith—sponsor—"Daily Worker," September 11, 1944, page 2
- (3) Veterans Justice Committee—speaker at protest meeting—"Daily Worker," May 21, 1946, page 5

George L. Paine, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) African Aid Committee—sponsor—letterhead, May 28, 1949
- (2) African Aid Committee—sponsor—letterhead, January 20, 1950
- (3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—letterhead, October 1955
- (4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of petition to Eisenhower on the McCarran-Walter Act—"Daily Worker," July 23, 1956, page 7
- (5) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 25th anniversary national conference—December 7-8, 1957
- (6) American League Against War and Fascism—presided at symposium, January 29, 1934—Massachusetts hearings, page 134
- (7) Amnesty Appeal for the Communist 11—initiator and signer—"Daily Worker," January 15, 1953, page 8

George L. Paine—Con't.

- (8) Appeal for Amnesty for the Jailed Leaders of the Communist Party Convicted Under the Smith Act—signer—"Daily Worker," December 10, 1952, page 4
- (9) Bachrach Open Letter—signer—letter, September 19, 1955
- (10) Bill of Rights Conference—sponsor—program, July 16-17, 1949
- (11) Brief "Amici Curiae" for the Communist Party—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, October Term 1955
- (12) Churchman Associates Dinner Presenting Award to G. Bromley Oxnam—member of honorary committee—program, February 23, 1949
- (13) Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts—member of general advisory committee—folder, August 1952
- (14) Committee for Clemency for Peter Harisiades—signer of open letter protesting deportation of Peter Harisiades—"Daily Worker," August 27, 1952, page 8
- (15) Committee to Defend the Victims of the Committee on Un-American Activities—signer of petition to the Commission on Human Rights of the UN—petition, May 10, 1950
- (16) Committee to End Sedition Laws—signer of statement—press release, November 19, 1955
- (17) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense—member of committee of sponsors—booklet, August 1945
- (18) Committee of One Thousand—signer of open letter urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities—"Daily Worker," January 3, 1949, page 7
- (19) Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of letter to the Senate—letter, July 7, 1949
- (20) Conference for Social Legislation—endorser, January 16, 1938—Massachusetts hearings, page 354
- (21) W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee—sponsor—program, February 23, 1951
- (22) Greater Boston Peace Strike Committee—sponsor—program, April 22, 1937
- (23) Hiroshima Commorative Committee—sponsor—letterhead, July 21, 1955
- (24) International Labor Defense—supporter of Scottsboro defense—Massachusetts hearings, page 213
- (25) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—sent appeal to President to free leaders of JAFRC—"Daily Worker," August 21, 1950, page 5
- (26) Melish Brief "Amici Curiae"—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, January 11, 1951
- (27) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, January 19, 1951
- (28) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Senator Hennings—letter, November 14, 1955
- (29) National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims—appealed for amnesty—leaflet, May 22, 1953

George L. Paine—Con't.

- (30) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of open letter—"Soviet Russia Today," June 1943, page 21
- (31) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—sponsor of Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace—leaflet, March 25, 1949
- (32) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer of statement on Korea—"Daily Worker," August 7, 1950, page 8
- (33) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—endorser of resolution for hearing Tunisia's demands in UN—"Daily Worker," June 2, 1952, page 3
- (34) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of appeal to free Sam Darcy—"Daily Worker," December 19, 1940, page 5
- (35) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer—news release, December 26, 1941
- (36) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of open letter asking the President to rescind Bidle decision on Harry Bridges—booklet, July 11, 1942
- (37) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943
- (38) Open Letter on Harry Bridges—signer—"Daily Worker," July 19, 1942, page 4
- (39) Open Letter to J. Howard McGrath—signer—St. Louis "Post-Dispatch," October 23, 1951, page 5
- (40) Protest Against the Report of the Massachusetts Legislative Investigating Committee—signer—"Daily Worker," June 11, 1938, page 3
- (41) Religious Freedom Committee—member of executive committee—letterhead, July 1954; June 26, 1956
- (42) Rosenberg Clemency Appeal—signer—"Daily Worker," January 13, 1953, page 2
- (43) Schappes Defense Committee—signer of open letter asking Governor Dewey to pardon Morris U. Schappes—New York "Times," October 9, 1944, page 12
- (44) "Soviet Russia Today"—contributor—"Soviet Russia Today," July 1949, page 10
- (45) Spanish Refugee Appeal—signer of open letter to Truman urging anti-Franco stand—letter, April 27, 1949
- (46) Statement Against Judge Medina—signer—"Daily Worker," June 7, 1949, page 1
- (47) Statement Condemning Congressional Investigations—signer—"UE News," January 1, 1949, pages 6-7
- (48) Statements Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergyment Who Visited Yugoslavia—signer—press release, October 31, 1947
- (49) World Congress for Peace, Paris—American sponsor; sent greetings—leaflet, April 20-25, 1949
- (50) World Peace Appeal—signer—leaflet, August 31, 1950

Edward L. Parsons, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of statement condemning "alien-baiting"—"Daily Worker," October 28, 1940

Edward L. Parsons—Con't.

- (2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 5th national conference—program, March 29, 1941
- (3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter for—"Lamp," June 1946, page 3
- (4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of Cleveland conference—"Lamp," September 1947, page 1
- (5) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter for—"Lamp," July-August 1948, page 2
- (6) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 15th national conference—call and program, December 11-12, 1948
- (7) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of petition for Gerhart Eisler—"Lamp," January 1949, p. 3
- (8) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of protest against deportation of alien Communists—"Lamp," May 1949, page 4
- (9) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of statement condemning deportations—leaflet, August 1950
- (10) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—protested jailing of Abner Green—"Daily Worker," August 24, 1951, page 8
- (11) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter for Martin Young—"Lamp," March 1952, page 2
- (12) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—saluted Bishop Moulton—"Daily Worker," May 5, 1953, page 8
- (13) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter for repeal of Walter-McCarran Act—"Daily Worker," January 14, 1954, page 6
- (14) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter for—"Daily Worker," March 31, 1955, page 8
- (15) American Committee to Save Refugees—sponsor—folder, circa 1940; letterhead, October 1941
- (16) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—sponsor—folder, 1945; letterhead, January 7, 1946
- (17) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—sponsor of Action Committee to Free Spain Now—letterhead, March 15, 1946
- (18) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—signer of letter urging that neutrality act be made inapplicable to Spain—"Daily Worker," February 16, 1938, page 2
- (19) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—committee member—letterhead, February 21, 1938
- (20) American Round Table on India—member—letterhead, 1941
- (21) Appeal for Amnesty for Eleven Communist Party Leaders—signer—press release, January 13, 1953
- (22) Appeal to Guard Civil Rights—signer—"Daily Worker," August 28, 1950, page 3
- (23) Bachrach Open Letter—signer—letter, September 19, 1955

Edward L. Parsons—Con't.

- (24) Bay Area Council Against Discrimination—member of advisory committee—letterhead, September 4, 1942
- (25) Bay Area Council Against Discrimination—signer of statement—folder, 1942
- (26) Brief "Amici Curiae" for the Communist Party—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, October Term 1955
- (27) California Labor School—sponsor—California report, 1947, page 79
- (28) California Labor School—sponsor of reception and dinner honoring Paul Scheur—program, February 27, 1949
- (29) California Labor School—signer of appeal to Subversive Activities Control Board to suspend hearings on CLS—press release, January 6, 1956
- (30) Chicago Committee Against War Propaganda—signer of protest against movie, "The Iron Curtain"—folder, May 21, 1948
- (31) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—favored clemency for Earl Browder—letterhead, April 1942
- (32) Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges—sponsor—letterhead, June 8, 1943
- (33) Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee—supporter—New York "Times," March 14, 1946
- (34) Committee for Citizenship Rights—endorser—letterhead, January 10, 1942
- (35) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—sponsor—program, January 23-25, 1948
- (36) Committee for Free Political Advocacy—signer—letterhead, March 30, 1950
- (37) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of statement to President Truman; initiator of statement—press release, December 14, 1949; "Daily Worker," December 14, 1949, page 5
- (38) Committee to Repeal the Callahan Act—name used by—Michigan "Herald," July 13, 1947, page 8
- (39) Committee to Welcome the Dean of Canterbury—member—folder, December 8, 1948
- (40) Condemns Mundt Bill—"Daily Worker," March 21, 1950, page 4, section 2
- (41) Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, August 21, 1949
- (42) Congress on Civil Rights—member of initiating committee—program, April 27-28, 1946
- (43) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, an auxiliary of North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—representative individual—folder, 1937
- (44) Council for Pan American Democracy—signer of open letter appearing for freedom of political prisoners—letter, June 8, 1945
- (45) Denounces Subversive Activities Control Act—"Daily Worker," March 16, 1950, page 9
- (46) Federation for Repeal of the Levering Act—sponsor—folder, 1952
- (47) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—sponsor—letterhead, June 22, 1942

Edward L. Parsons—Con't.

- (48) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—sponsor of dinner—folder, October 27, 1943
- (49) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," January 29, 1946, page 9
- (50) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—signer of open letter condemning Franco Spain—"Daily Worker," April 29, 1949, page 2
- (51) Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy—chairman of Northern California committee—letterhead, October 26, 1937
- (52) Medical Bureau and Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, February 2, 1939
- (53) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—national sponsor—letterhead, December 8, 1938
- (54) Melish Brief of Joseph Fletcher, and Others, "Amici Curiae"—signer—Supreme Court, State of New York, March 13, 1950
- (55) Melish Brief "Amici Curiae"—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, January 11, 1951
- (56) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—initiating sponsor—letterhead, June 19, 1950
- (57) Nation Associates—sponsor—program, October 13, 1947
- (58) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, May 25, 1952
- (59) National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee to Aid Strikers Families—member of national board—"Worker," March 17, 1946, page 5
- (60) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—"PM," May 12, 1944, page 3
- (61) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—letterhead, March 8, 1946
- (62) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, January 19, 1951
- (63) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—initiator—letterhead, June 22, 1951
- (64) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to the Republican and Democratic parties—"Daily Worker," July 9, 1952, page 3
- (65) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to President Eisenhower—"Daily Worker," July 27, 1953, page 8
- (66) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts—signer of open letter to Senator Hennings—letter, November 14, 1955
- (67) National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims—appealed for amnesty—leaflet, May 22, 1953
- (68) National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights—sponsor—letterhead, October 10, 1950
- (69) National Conference to Defend the Rights of Foreign Born Americans—sponsor—souvenir journal, December 13-14, 1952
- (70) National Conference on the Foreign Born in Post-War America—sponsor—letterhead, January 1946
- (71) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of statement calling for peaceful settle-

Edward L. Parsons—Con't.

- ment of U. S.-U. S. S. R. differences—statement, June 23, 1948
- (72) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of open letter—New York "Times," May 18, 1943, page c17
- (73) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of call—"Soviet Russia Today," July 1948, page 5
- (74) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer of statement asking end to DuBois indictment—"Daily Worker," June 29, 1951, page 8
- (75) National Emergency Conference—sponsor—call, May 13-14, 1939
- (76) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—member of board of sponsors—letter, February 15, 1940
- (77) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943
- (78) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Worker," March 18, 1945, pages 1-3, magazine section
- (79) National Free Browder Congress—sponsor—"Daily Worker," March 6, 1942, page 1
- (80) National Mobilization—sponsor of national conference—"Daily Worker," March 5, 1946, page 3
- (81) North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—supporter of conference of—"Daily Worker," January 2, 1939, page 2
- (82) Open Letter Opposing Military Aid to Spain—signer—"Daily Worker," May 17, 1951, pages 2, 9
- (83) Open Letter to President Roosevelt Protesting Deportation Order Against Harry R. Bridges—signer—letter, April 22, 1943
- (84) "Protestant"—editorial adviser—"Protestant," June 1944; October 1945; February 1946
- (85) "Protestant"—signer of petition—"Protestant," August-September 1947, page 33
- (86) Religious Committee for the Defense of Wesley Robert Wells—signer of appeal—"Daily Worker," February 2, 1954, page 4
- (87) Rosenberg Clemency Appeal—signer of letter to President Eisenhower to commute death sentences—press release, February 13, 1953
- (88) Russian War Relief—signer of appeal—New York "Times," October 10, 1941
- (89) Russian War Relief—member of religious committee—letterhead, 1943
- (90) San Francisco Committee to Aid China—sponsor—letterhead, July 15, 1940
- (91) San Francisco Theatre Union—member of advisory board—program, May 31, 1935
- (92) Second World Peace Congress—American sponsor—"Worker," October 29, 1950, page 4
- (93) Southern California Committee to Win the Peace—sponsor—letterhead, August 9, 1946

Edward L. Parsons—Con't.

- (94) "Soviet Russia Today"—issued statement in support of the U. S. S. R.—"Soviet Russia Today," October 1941, page 30
- (95) "Soviet Russia Today"—sent letter—"Soviet Russia Today," June 1947, page 3
- (96) Spanish Refugee Appeal—member of national committee of sponsors—folder, 1946
- (97) Spanish Refugee Appeal—signer of open letter to President Truman urging anti-Franco stand—letter, April 27, 1949
- (98) Spanish Refugee Appeal—national sponsor—letterhead, April 28, 1949
- (99) Spanish Refugee Appeal—honorary chairman—letterhead, October 1950
- (100) Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign—sponsor—letterhead, March 27, 1940
- (101) Statement Defending the Communist Party—signer—"Daily Worker," March 5, 1941, page 2
- (102) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—sponsor and signer—press release, October 31, 1947
- (103) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sponsored and supported statement calling for break with Franco Spain—New York "Times," March 3, 1945
- (104) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sponsor of Action Committee to Free Spain Now—letterhead, March 15, 1946
- (105) Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo—signer of open letter—New York "Times," January 31, 1939
- (106) Win-the-Peace Conference—sponsor—letterhead, February 28, 1946
- (107) Witness Statement on Korea—signer—"Worker," August 27, 1950, page 5
- (108) Witness Statement for Seating Red China in UN—signer—"Daily Worker," August 21, 1950, page 2

Harry T. Penn, National Health Committee, NAACP:

- (1) African Aid Committee—sponsor—letterhead, May 28, 1949
- (2) African Aid Committee—sponsor—letterhead, January 20, 1950
- (3) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors—letterhead, July 1954
- (4) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors—letterhead, April 1955
- (5) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor of southwestern regional conference on integration—folder, May 17, 1955
- (6) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors—letterhead, November 1, 1956

Palfrey Perkins, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) Melish Brief "Amici Curiae"—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, January 11, 1951
- (2) Open Letter to President Roosevelt Protesting Deportation Order Against Harry R. Bridges—signer—letter, April 22, 1943

Palfrey Perkins—Con't.

(3) "Protestant"—Signer of petition for—"Daily Worker," October 21, 1941, page 2

(4) Protestant Digest Statement Denouncing Lindbergh signer—"Daily Worker," September 27, 1941, page 1

(5) Protest Against the Report of the Massachusetts Legislative Investigating Committee—signer—"Daily Worker," June 11, 1938, page 3

(6) Rosenberg Clemency Appeal—signer—"Daily Worker," January 13, 1953, page 2

(7) Schappes Defense Committee—signer of open letter to Governor Thomas E. Dewey—New York "Times," October 9, 1944, page 12

(8) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—signer—press release, October 31, 1947

Tarea H. Pittman, Branch Field Secretary, NAACP:

(1) National Negro Congress—member of general resolutions committee—official proceedings, February 14-16, 1936, page 6

Shad Polier, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) International Juridical Association—member of national committee—letterhead, May 18, 1942

(2) National Lawyers Guild—member of national executive board—Appendix IX, page 1275

Edwin McNeil Poteat, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) China Conference Arrangements Committee—sponsor of conference on China and the Far East—call, October 18-20, 1946

(2) Citizens Committee to Secure Bail for Martin Young—signer of letter to the Attorney General—"Daily Worker," September 29, 1952, page 2

(3) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—sponsor of conference on China and the Far East—call, October 18-20, 1946

(4) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—sponsor—program, January 23, 1948

(5) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of statement to President Truman—press release, December 14, 1949

(6) Congress on Civil Rights—member of initiating committee—program, April 27-28, 1946

(7) Council for Pan-American Democracy—signer of cable—"Daily Worker," November 11, 1943

(8) Council for Pan-American Democracy—signer of open letter appealing for freedom of political prisoners—open letter, June 8, 1945

(9) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—sponsor—program, January 30-31, 1953

(10) National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism—sponsor—letterhead, March 26, 1946

(11) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—initiator of open letter to Congress—open letter, January 19, 1951

(12) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Republican and Democratic Parties—"Daily Worker," July 9, 1952, page 3

Edwin McNeil Poteat—Con't.

(13) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts—initiator—letterhead, 1953

(14) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts—signer of open letter to President Eisenhower—"Daily Worker," July 27, 1953, page 8

(15) National Committee to Win the Peace—sponsor of conference on China and the Far East—call, October 18-20, 1946

(16) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of open letter—"Soviet Russia Today," June 1943, page 21

(17) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of call—"Soviet Russia Today," July 1948, page 6

(18) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of appeal to free Sam Darcy—"Daily Worker," December 19, 1940, page 5

(19) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943

(20) Open Letter to President Roosevelt Protesting Deportation Order Against Harry R. Bridges—signer—letter, April 22, 1943

(21) People's Institute of Applied Religion—sponsor—letterhead, February 12, 1941; April 9, 1942

(22) "Protestant"—editorial adviser—"Protestant," December-January 1942; June 1944; October 1945; August-September 1946

(23) "Protestant"—signer of declaration—New York "Post," February 13, 1945, page 23

(24) "Protestant"—signer of petition—"Protestant," August-September 1947, page 33

(25) "Protestant Digest"—member of editorial advisory board—letterhead, October 7, 1941

(26) Protestant Digest Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—leaflet, February 25, 1941

(27) Protestant Digest Statement Denouncing Lindbergh—signer—"Daily Worker," September 27, 1941, page 5

(28) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—sponsor and signer—press release, October 31, 1947

(29) Schappes Defense Committee—signer of open letter to Governor Thomas E. Dewey—New York "Times," October 9, 1944, page 12

(30) U. S. Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the Congress of the Peoples for Peace—sponsor—press release, December 9, 1952

C. B. Powell, National Health Committee, NAACP:

(1) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—sponsor—booklet, September 25, 1943, page 30

(2) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor (an auxiliary of International Labor Defense)—sponsor—booklet, August 1945, page 14

(3) End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee—sponsor—letterhead, August 6, 1945

A. Philip Randolph, Vice-President, NAACP:

- (1) American Friends of the Chinese People—sponsor of meeting—"Daily Worker," September 24, 1937, page 6
- (2) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," April 8, 1938, page 4
- (3) American League for Peace and Democracy—national committee member—letterhead, April 6, 1939
- (4) American League Against War and Fascism—supporter of statement—"Daily Worker," February 27, 1937, page 2
- (5) American League Against War and Fascism—sponsor of meeting—"Daily Worker," September 24, 1937, page 6
- (6) American Relief Ship for Spain—sponsor—letterhead, September 3, 1938
- (7) American Round Table on India—member—letterhead, 1941
- (8) American Youth Congress—signer of call—call, July 1-5, 1939
- (9) Chicago Sobell Committee—signer of scroll presented to Urey at dinner, February 12, 1955—House Committee report "Trial by Treason," page 124
- (10) China Aid Council—sponsor—letterhead, June 11, 1938
- (11) Conference on Pan American Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, November 16, 1938
- (12) Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative—sponsor—pamphlet, 1938
- (13) Consumers National Federation—sponsor—folder, December 11-12, 1937
- (14) Consumers Union—member of board of directors—"Consumers Reports," January 1938; November 1939; leaflet, 1940
- (15) Consumers Union—member of labor advisory committee—letterhead, September 28, 1939
- (16) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—booklet, 1937
- (17) Council Against Intolerance in America—member—letterhead, October 1952
- (18) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—sponsor—program, February 12, 1940
- (19) Harlem Employment Committee—vice chairman—"Daily Worker," May 23, 1938, page 5
- (20) International Labor Defense—affiliated with—House Committee report, 1942, page 19
- (21) League for Mutual Aid—member of executive committee—letterhead, undated
- (22) League for Mutual Aid—guest of honor—"New Masses," January 26, 1937, page 37
- (23) Manhattan Citizens Committee—speaker at mass meeting—"Worker," April 9, 1939
- (24) Medical Bureau and Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, February 2, 1939
- (25) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, December 8, 1938
- (26) Milk Consumers Protective Committee—member of advisory board—leaflet, undated

A. Philip Randolph—Con't.

- (27) Mother Bloor Celebration Committee—sponsor—booklet, January 24, 1936
 - (28) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—letterhead, March 8, 1946
 - (29) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—signer of open letter, letter, undated
 - (30) National Negro Congress—president; member of national executive council—official proceedings, February 14-16, 1936
 - (31) National Negro Congress—president; speaker—program, October 15-17, 1937
 - (32) National Negro Congress—president—"Daily Worker," May 23, 1938, page 5
 - (33) Public Use of Arts Committee—sponsor—letterhead, circa 1939
 - (34) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—sponsor of second conference—call, April 14-16, 1940
 - (35) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—consultant—official report, 1942
 - (36) Southern Negro Youth Conference—speaker—"Daily Worker," January 23, 1937, page 3
 - (37) United Front for Herndon—signer of petition to free Angelo Herndon—"Labor Defender," October 1935
 - (38) United May Day Committee—member of executive committee; chairman—call to conference, April 24, 1937
- Louis L. Redding, National Legal Committee, NAACP:**
- (1) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—member of national council—letterhead, September 30, 1954; February 14, 1955
 - (2) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—to participate in forum at conference, April 16—"Rights," March 1955, page 14
 - (3) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—chairman of meeting—announcement on his own letterhead, January 30, 1956
 - (4) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—member of executive committee—letterhead, March 14, 1956; July 8, 1957
 - (5) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—speaker at rally—"Daily Worker," September 23, 1957, page 3
 - (6) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of petition—petition, June 22, 1951
 - (7) National Negro Congress—endorser—call, February 14, 1936
 - (8) National Negro Congress—member of general resolutions committee; member of presiding committee; member of national executive council—official proceedings, February 14-16, 1936
 - (9) Open Letter Condemning Attack on Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer—Arkansas "State Press," March 26, 1954, pages 1, 4
 - (10) Southern Conference Educational Fund—member of board of directors—letterhead, July 1954; April 1955; November 1, 1956
 - (11) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor of southwestern regional conference on integration—folder, May 17, 1955

Louis L. Redding—Con't.

(12) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of petition—petition, November 7, 1955

(13) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor of open letter on civil rights legislation—"Southern Patriot," September 1957, page 2

(14) Teachers Union—to address annual conference of, April 2—"Daily Worker," March 31, 1955, page 3

Sidney R. Redmond, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Daily Worker," March 19, 1945, page 4

Frank D. Reeves, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of petition—petition, June 22, 1951

Frederick E. Reissig, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee—sponsor—program, February 23, 1951

(2) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Congress—open letter, January 19, 1951

(3) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to the Republican and Democratic Parties—"Daily Worker," July 9, 1952, page 3

(4) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor of southwestern regional conference on integration—folder, May 17, 1955

(5) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—sponsor of Washington campaign committee—program, May 22, 1946

(6) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia—signer—press release, October 31, 1947

Joseph B. Robinson, National Health Committee, NAACP:

(1) Albany Free Browder Committee—signer of letter to free Earl Browder—"Daily Worker," March 27, 1942, page 3

(2) National Emergency Conference—signer of call—call, May 13-14, 1939

Eleanor Roosevelt, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) All-Harlem Youth Conference—sent greetings—"Daily Worker," May 12, 1938

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—"Daily Worker," October 21, 1941, page 4

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of dinner—program, October 26, 1946

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter—folder, 1947

(5) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—sent message to—"Daily Worker," November 23, 1945, page 8

Eleanor Roosevelt—Con't.

(6) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—made cash contribution to—"Headlines of ACYR," July 1945, page 1

(7) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—accepts honorary chairmanship—"Daily Worker," December 21, 1945, page 3

(8) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—honorary chairman—letterhead, July 23, 1948

(9) American Communications Association—speaker at annual convention—Baltimore "Evening Sun," April 16, 1940, page 8

(10) American Federation of Teachers, Local No. 5—received annual award—"Daily Worker," April 23, 1939

(11) American League for Peace and Democracy—sent donation to China Aid Council—"Daily Worker," March 21, 1938

(12) American Relief for Greek Democracy—honorary chairman—letterhead, November 19, 1946

(13) American Student Union—entertained leader, Joseph P. Lash, at White House, November 30, 1939—"Times-Herald," December 1, 1939

(14) American Youth Congress—sent letter of greetings to Milwaukee—official program, July 2-5, 1937

(15) American Youth Congress—speaker at City College—"Daily Worker," January 29, 1938

(16) American Youth Congress—speaker at New York dinner—"Evening Star," March 1, 1939

(17) American Youth Congress—speaker, New York—program, July 9, 1939

(18) American Youth Congress—defender of AYC before Council of Southern Women—"Evening Star," January 26, 1940, page 4

(19) American Youth Congress—invited Congressmen to White House to meet AYC leaders—"Washington Post," February 7, 1940, pages 1, 7

(20) American Youth Congress—speaker, Monday Evening Club—program, February 13, 1940

(21) American Youth Congress—speaker, Chicago—program, April 13, 1940

(22) American Youth Congress—defended—"Liberty," April 20, 1940

(23) China Aid Council—sponsor—undated folder

(24) Christmas Amnesty Plea for Communists Convicted Under the Smith Act—signer of petition to President Eisenhower urging commutation of sentences and postponement of trials—New York "Times," December 21, 1955, page 20

(25) Daughters of the American Depression—sponsor—New York "Times," May 13, 1940

(26) End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee—sponsor—news release, July 30, 1945

(27) Foster Parents Plan for Spanish Children—supporter—"Direction," October 1939

(28) Indusco—member of advisory board—letterhead, April 1951

(29) Jewish Black Book Committee—sponsor—undated pamphlet

Eleanor Roosevelt—Con't.

(30) League of Women Shoppers—speaker, New York—"Daily Worker," December 9, 1936

(31) Metropolitan Music School—advisory council member—catalog, 1953-54; 1954-55

(32) Motion Picture Artists Committee—sent donation—"Daily Worker," March 21, 1938

(33) National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee to Aid Strikers Families — member of national board—"Worker," March 17, 1946, page 5

(34) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—letterhead, March 8, 1946

(35) National Conference on the German Problem—sponsor—official release, March 6, 1947

(36) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sent greetings—"Worker," November 19, 1944, page 2

(37) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sent greetings to rally—"Daily Worker," November 15, 1945 page 3

(38) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Committee of Women—sent greetings to Soviet women on International Women's Day—"Daily Worker," March 4, 1946, page 8

(39) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—member of Committee of Women—press release, March 13, 1947

(40) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—endorser of statement—folder, 1940

(41) National Negro Congress—speaker at Philadelphia gathering—"Daily Worker," February 12, 1938

(42) National Right-to-Work Congress—speaker—program, June 3, 1939

(43) People's Front for Peace—sent greetings—"Daily Worker," August 30, 1937, page 2

(44) "Protestant Digest"—writer of statement—letterhead, December 27, 1939

(45) Russian War Relief—sent telegram of greeting—"Soviet Russia Today," December 1941, page 20

(46) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF—letter, June 10, 1954

(47) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—speaker—program, November 20-23, 1938

(48) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—speaker at convention in Chattanooga—program, April 16, 1940

(49) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—consultant—official report, 1942

(50) Southern Negro Youth Congress—speaker—April 28, 1939

(51) "Soviet Russia Today"—contributor—"Soviet Russia Today," June 1942, page 6

(52) United American Spanish Aid Committee—supporter—Appendix IX, page 1608

(53) United States Arrangements Committee, World Youth Conference—honorary patron—letterhead, July 1945

(54) United Student Peace Committee—endorser of "peace strike"—"Daily Worker," April 20, 1939

Eleanor Roosevelt—Con't.

(55) Workers Alliance—speaker at convention, Washington, D. C.—New York "Sun," June 7, 1939, page 1

(56) World Youth Congress—speaker at opening session—Vassar College, August 16, 1938

Theodore M. Sanders, National Health Committee, NAACP:

(1) Physicians Forum — affiliated with — "Daily Worker," September 25, 1947, page 3

(2) Physicians Forum—member of board of directors—letterhead, February 16, 1951

Jawn Sandifer, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) Citizens Emergency Conference on Interracial Unity—delegate—booklet, September 25, 1943

(2) National Lawyers Guild—leader of workshop discussion at conference—"Daily Worker," October 7, 1952, page 4

Guy Emery Shipler, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—signer of letter—letterhead, May 26, 1940

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 4th annual conference—letterhead, March 2-3, 1940

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of 5th national conference—program, March 29, 1941

(4) American Committee to Save Refugees—sponsor—letterhead, October 1941

(5) American Committee for Spanish Freedom—sponsor—letterhead, January 7, 1946

(6) American Congress for Peace and Democracy—endorser—letterhead, December 7, 1938; leaflet, January 6-8, 1939

(7) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," February 16, 1938

(8) American Friends of Spanish Democracy—vice chairman, executive committee—letterhead, February 21, 1938

(9) American League for Peace and Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, August 3, 1939

(10) American League for Peace and Democracy—member of religious committee, New York City division—"Peace Year Book," 1939-1940

(11) American Relief Ship for Spain—sponsor—letterhead, September 3, 1938

(12) American Round Table on India — chairman — letterhead, 1941

(13) American Society for Cultural Relations with Italy—listed as a friend of Italian democracy—program, April 17, 1947

(14) American Youth Congress—adult consultant on panel discussion—proceedings, July 1-5, 1939

(15) American Youth for Democracy—secretary-treasurer of a dinner—program, October 16, 1944

(16) American Youth for Democracy—sponsor—program of dinner, December 12, 1945

Guy Emery Shipler—Con't.

- (17) Appeal for Amnesty for Eleven Communist Party Leaders—signer—press release, January 13, 1953
- (18) Bachrach Open Letter—signer—letter, September 19, 1955
- (19) Brief "Amici Curiae" for the Communist Party—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, October Term, 1955
- (20) China Aid Council—sponsor—letterhead, June 11, 1938; January 9, 1941
- (21) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—sponsor—folder, September 25, 1943
- (22) Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee—supporter—New York "Times," March 14, 1946
- (23) Clergymen's Tour to Yugoslavia—member; reported favorably on Communist regime—Michigan "Herald," August 10, 1947, page 2; November 16, 1947, page 2
- (24) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—sponsor—program, January 23-25, 1948
- (25) Committee to Save Spain and China—treasurer—"New Masses," November 15, 1938, page 27
- (26) Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson—member—"Daily Worker," September 22, 1948, page 5
- (27) Conference on Pan American Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, November 16, 1938
- (28) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, an auxiliary of North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—representative individual—folder, 1937
- (29) Council for Pan American Democracy—signer of open letter appealing for freedom of political prisoners—letter, June 8, 1945
- (30) Emergency Citizens Conference to Defend Labor—sponsor—"Daily Worker," April 28, 1947, page 10
- (31) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—sponsor—program, January 30-31, 1953
- (32) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—member of national council—letterhead, September 30, 1954; January 26, 1955; July 8, 1957
- (33) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—speaker—leaflet, June 15, 1955
- (34) "Equality" — contributor — "Equality," July 1939, page 23; December 1939, page 20; June 1940, page 10
- (35) "Equality"—member of editorial council—"Equality," October 1939
- (36) Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sponsor—"Daily Worker," March 22, 1939, page 5
- (37) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—sponsor—program, February 12, 1940
- (38) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights—guest of honor—"Daily Worker," July 28, 1940, page 3
- (39) Hiroshima Commemorative Committee — chairman—letterhead, July 21, 1955

Guy Emery Shipler—Con't.

- (40) "Jewish Life"—contributor—"Jewish Life," May, 1949, page 25
- (41) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—sponsor of dinner—folder, October 27, 1943
- (42) League for Fair Play—speaker—leaflet, 1945-1946 season
- (43) Legislative Assembly — sponsor — "Worker," January 30, 1949, page 4
- (44) Live and Let Live—signer of letter to Congress—letter, February 15, 1956
- (45) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—national sponsor—letterhead, December 8, 1938
- (46) Melish Brief of Joseph Fletcher, and Others, "Amici Curiae"—signer—Supreme Court, State of New York, March 13, 1950
- (47) Melish Brief "Amici Curiae"—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, January 11, 1951
- (48) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—sponsor—call, May 29-30, 1950
- (49) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, January 19, 1951
- (50) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts—signer of open letter to Senator Hennings—letter, November 14, 1955
- (51) National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims—appealed for amnesty—leaflet, May 22, 1953
- (52) National Conference on the German Problem—sponsor—official release, March 6, 1947
- (53) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of open letter—New York "Times," May 18, 1943, page c 17
- (54) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of statement—"Daily Worker," July 5, 1943, page 4
- (55) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—sponsor and participant in Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace—report of conference, March 25-27, 1949
- (56) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights—signer of statement—folder, 1940
- (57) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943
- (58) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Worker," March 18, 1945, pages 1-3, magazine section
- (59) New York Committee to Win the Peace—member—letterhead, June 29, 1946
- (60) North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—member of advisory committee—folder, April 5, 1937
- (61) North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—sponsor—"New Masses," September 28, 1937, page 28

Guy Emery Shipler—Con't.

(62) Open Letter to President Roosevelt Protesting Deportation Order Against Harry R. Bridges—signer—letter, April 22, 1943

(63) "Protestant"—signer of petition for—"Daily Worker," October 21, 1941, page 2

(64) Protestant Digest Associates—member of New York committee—letterhead, January 22, 1941

(65) Protestant Digest Associates—sponsor of call to dinner-forum—leaflet, February 24, 1941

(66) Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign, an auxiliary of American League for Peace and Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, August 3, 1939

(67) Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee—signer of declaration—New York "Times," December 22, 1943, page 40

(68) Religious Freedom Committee—signer of letter asking support in formation of the committee—letter, April 8, 1954

(69) Religious Freedom Committee—member of executive committee—letterhead, July 1954; June 26, 1956

(70) Rosenberg Clemency Appeal—signer of letter to President Eisenhower to commute death sentences—press release, February 13, 1953

(71) Russian War Relief—member of religious committee of—letterhead, 1943

(72) Schappes Defense Committee—signer of open letter asking Governor Dewey to pardon Morris U. Schappes—New York "Times," October 9, 1944, page 12

(73) Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign—treasurer—letterhead, March 27, 1940

(74) United States Arrangements Committee, World Youth Conference—sponsor—letterhead, July 1945

(75) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sponsor of Action Committee to Free Spain Now—letterhead, March 15, 1946

(76) Win-the-Peace Conference—sponsor—call, April 5-7, 1946

Arthur D. Shores, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

(1) National Lawyers Guild—sent greetings to convention—"Daily Worker," February 21, 1956, page 5

(2) Southern Negro Youth Congress—member of advisory board—testimony of Walter Steele before House Committee, July 21, 1947, page 96

George N. Shuster, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Youth Congress—member of national advisory committee—pamphlet, 1936, pages 62-64

(2) American Youth Congress—member of national advisory board—letterhead, July 4, 1937

(3) American Youth Congress—signer of call to the congress of youth—proceedings, July 1-5, 1939

(4) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—sponsor—booklet, September 25, 1943, page 30

(5) National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White-Collar Fields—sponsor—program, May 8-9, 1943

Mrs. Harper Sibley, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) "People's Voice" (Harlem)—member of reception committee (with Paul Robeson and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.) for Mrs. Emma C. Clement, "American Mother of 1946"—leaflet, May 14, 1946

Lillian Smith, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Peace Mobilization—signer of petition to free Browder—"Daily Worker," May 2, 1941, page 2

(2) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Rezy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense—sponsor—booklet, August 1945

(3) Emergency Peace Mobilization—affiliated with—Appendix IX, page 692

(4) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, October 13, 1947

(5) National Citizens Political Action Committee—member—official list, August 28, 1944

(6) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—speaker—"Worker," November 19, 1944, page 2

(7) "South Today"—editor—National Citizens Political Action Committee official list, August 28, 1944

(8) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—consultant—official report, 1942

Theodore Spaulding, Assistant Treasurer and Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) Pennsylvania Congress for American Liberties—sponsor—program, February 22, 1941

Arthur B. Spingarn, President and Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee—supporter—New York "Times," March 14, 1946

(2) Council on African Affairs—delegate—booklet, April 14, 1944

(3) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Worker," March 18, 1945, page 2

(4) Public Use of Arts Committee—sponsor—letterhead, circa 1939

Stephen Gill Spottswood, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) African Aid Committee—sponsor—letterhead, May 28, 1949

(2) African Aid Committee—sponsor—letterhead, January 20, 1950

(3) Negro Leaders Defense of the Communist Party—signer of statement—press release, April 21, 1947

(4) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—sponsor—program, May 22, 1946

Norman Thomas, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American Fund for Public Service—member of board of directors—Appendix IX, page 384

(2) American Student Union—member of sponsoring committee—"Student Advocate," February 1937, page 2

(3) American Student Union—member of advisory board—Appendix IX, page 523

Norman Thomas—Con't.

- (4) American Youth Congress—endorser of American Youth Act—Appendix IX, page 548
- (5) Chicago Debs Centennial Committee—speaker for—"Daily Worker," January 31, 1956, page 1
- (6) Christmas Amnesty Plea for Communists Convicted Under the Smith Act—initiator of petition to President Eisenhower urging commutation of sentences and postponement of trials—New York "Times," December 21, 1955, page 20
- (7) Committee on Militarism in Education—member of executive board—letterhead, October 1, 1935
- (8) Committee for Support of Marine Workers Industrial Union—speaker—"New Masses," October 16, 1934, page 26
- (9) Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative—sponsor—pamphlet, 1938
- (10) Consumers National Federation—sponsor—official leaflet, December 11-12, 1937
- (11) First U. S. Congress Against War—member of arrangements committee—call, 1932
- (12) International Committee for Political Prisoners—member of general committee—letterhead, June 1936
- (13) Letter of Reminder to Eisenhower of 1955 Christmas Amnesty Plea for Communists Convicted Under the Smith Act—co-author with A. J. Muste—"Daily Worker," January 7, 1957, page 3
- (14) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—participated in conference of—"Daily Worker," March 19, 1938, page 2
- (15) Mother Ella Reeve Bloor Banquet—sponsor—leaflet, January 24, 1936
- (16) National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case—clemency supporter—leaflet, 1953
- (17) National Share-Croppers Fund—board member—1948 California report, page 334
- (18) Russian Reconstruction Farms—member of advisory board—letterhead, March 20, 1926
- (19) Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—signer of open letter asking President Eisenhower to call off H-bomb tests—New York "Times," May 7, 1956, page 21; "Daily Worker," May 8, 1956, pages 1, 8

J. M. Tinsley, National Health Committee and Board of Directors, NAACP:

- (1) National Negro Congress—member of national executive council and member of presiding committee—official proceedings, February 14-16, 1936
- (2) Southern Negro Youth Congress—active in (February 1937)—Appendix IX, page 1600

Channing H. Tobias, Chairman of the Board, NAACP:

- (1) All-Harlem Youth Conference—endorser—"Daily Worker," May 12, 1938
- (2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—official program, April 17, 1943
- (3) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief—sponsor—letterhead, July 23, 1948

Channing H. Tobias—Con't.

- (4) American League for Peace and Democracy—member of executive board—letterhead, June 12, 1939
- (5) American Round Table on India—member—letterhead, circa 1941
- (6) American Slav Congress—speaker at meeting—"Daily Worker," December 27, 1944, page 2
- (7) American Society for Russian Relief—member of executive committee—letterhead, April 12, 1946
- (8) CIO Community Conference in Harlem—speaker for—"Daily Worker," March 26, 1943, page 6
- (9) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity—initiator and chairman of executive committee—booklet, September 25, 1943
- (10) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense—speaker for—"Worker," December 31, 1944, page 7
- (11) Communist Bond Rally—speaker at—"Worker," December 31, 1944, page 10
- (12) Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America—sponsor—official program, June 7-9, 1939
- (13) Conference on Puerto Rico's Right to Freedom—sponsor—official program, January 5, 1946
- (14) Council on African Affairs—one of founders of—New York "Herald Tribune," April 6, 1948
- (15) Council for Pan American Democracy—signer of open letter appealing for freedom for political prisoners—press release, June 8, 1945
- (16) End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee—sponsor—letterhead, August 6, 1945
- (17) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—attended meeting of Independent Voters Committee, September 21, 1944—"Communist Activities Among Aliens and National Groups," page 592
- (18) International Committee on African Affairs—member—letterhead, undated
- (19) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner—program, December 3, 1945
- (20) National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee—member of national board—"Worker," March 17, 1946, page 5
- (21) National Citizens Political Action Committee—vice-chairman—"Political Guide," NC-PAC, June 26-29, 1946
- (22) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—sponsor—letterhead, March 8, 1946
- (23) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of open letter—"Soviet Russia Today," June 1943, page 2
- (24) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee—pamphlet, January 1943
- (25) National Mobilization—sponsor—"Daily Worker," March 5, 1946, page 3
- (26) National Scottsboro Action Committee—member of executive committee—"Daily Worker," May 3, 1933, page 2
- (27) Negro History Week—speaker—"Daily Worker," February 7, 1943, page 5

Channing H. Tobias—Con't.

- (28) New York Citizens Emergency Committee—member—letterhead, March 1946
- (29) New York Committee for Justice in Freeport—honorary chairman—letterhead, February 21, 1947
- (30) New York Conference on National Unity—member—official program, December 6, 1941
- (31) North Shore Interracial and Interfaith Committee of Queens—speaker for—"Daily Worker," October 4, 1944, page 3
- (32) People's Committee—speaker for—"Daily Worker," April 1, 1943, page 4
- (33) People's Institute of Applied Religion—sponsor—letterhead, April 9, 1942
- (34) "People's Voice"—member of reception committee—leaflet, May 1946
- (35) "Protestant"—editorial advisor—"Protestant," August-September 1946
- (36) "Protestant Digest"—editorial advisor—letterhead, October 7, 1941
- (37) Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign, an auxiliary of American League for Peace and Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, August 3, 1939
- (38) Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee—speaker for—"New Masses," December 21, 1943, page 31
- (39) Southern Conference for Human Welfare—co-chairman—news release, December 10, 1946
- (40) Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Ferdinand C. Smith—sponsor—program, September 20, 1944
- (41) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—speaker at meeting co-sponsored by VALB—"Daily Worker," December 27, 1944, page 2
- (42) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—sponsored and supported statement calling for break with Franco Spain—New York "Times," March 3, 1945
- (43) Win-the-Peace Conference—sponsor—program, April 5-7, 1946

Willard S. Townsend, Vice-President, NAACP:

- (1) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—signer of statement—"Daily Worker," March 11, 1942, page 5
- (2) National Citizens Political Action Committee—member—official list, August 28, 1944
- (3) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—affiliated with—Appendix IX, page 1222
- (4) Open Letter on Harry Bridges—signer—"Daily Worker," July 19, 1942, page 4
- (5) Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Ferdinand C. Smith—sponsor—program, September 20, 1944

Charles J. Turck, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) Bill of Rights Conference—sponsor—call, July 16-17, 1949
- (2) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—initiating sponsor and seminar moderator—call, May 29-30, 1950
- (3) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, May 25, 1952

Charles J. Turck—Con't.

- (4) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, January 19, 1951
 - (5) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—initiator—letterhead, June 22, 1951
 - (6) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts—signer of open letter to President Eisenhower—"Daily Worker," July 27, 1953, page 8
 - (7) "Protestant"—signer of petition for all-out aid to Russia—"Daily Worker," October 21, 1941, page 2
- A. T. Walden, National Legal Committee, NAACP:**
- (1) National Lawyers Guild—leader of workshop discussion at conference—"Daily Worker," October 7, 1952, page 4
- W. J. Walls, Vice-President, NAACP:**
- (1) African Aid Committee—sponsor—letterhead, May 28, 1949; January 20, 1950
 - (2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor—letterhead, October 1955
 - (3) American Crusade to End Lynching—signer of call to pilgrimage to Washington—call, September 23, 1946
 - (4) American Round Table on India—member—letterhead, 1941; "Daily Worker," November 4, 1942, page 2
 - (5) American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the Second World Peace Congress—member—"Daily Worker," November 9, 1950, page 2
 - (6) Appeal for Amnesty for the Jailed Leaders of the Communist Party Convicted Under the Smith Act—signer—"Daily Worker," December 10, 1952, page 4
 - (7) Bill of Rights Conference—sponsor—program, July 16-17, 1949
 - (8) Committee for Free Political Advocacy—honorary chairman—letterhead, March 30, 1950
 - (9) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives—signer of petition to outlaw H-bomb—"Daily Worker," April 17, 1950, page 3
 - (10) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—initiator of statement to President Truman—"Daily Worker," December 14, 1949, page 5
 - (11) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—initiator—"Worker," August 21, 1949, page 11
 - (12) W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee—honorary chairman—program, February 23, 1951
 - (13) Fraternal Council of Churches in America—signer of statement urging rejection of Atlantic Pact—"Daily Worker," June 28, 1949, page 2
 - (14) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—initiator of call and sponsor—"Daily Worker," April 7, 1950, page 3
 - (15) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—member of program committee and chairman of keynote session—call, May 29-30, 1950
 - (16) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—honorary chairman—letterhead, June 19, 1950
 - (17) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, May 25, 1952

W. J. Walls—Con't.

- (18) National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership—honored by—leaflet, January 11, 1953
- (19) National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives—honorary chairman—folder, 1950
- (20) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—initiator of open letter to members of Congress on the McCarran Internal Security Act—open letter, January 19, 1951
- (21) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—signer of petition—petition, June 22, 1951
- (22) National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims—appealed for amnesty—leaflet, May 22, 1953
- (23) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of congress—"Soviet Russia Today," December 1942, page 42
- (24) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of congress—leaflet, November 6-8, 1943
- (25) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of U. S.-Soviet friendship celebrations—"Worker," November 12, 1944, page 8, magazine section
- (26) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor—letterhead, November 19, 1945; January 7, 1948; October 26, 1949
- (27) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—sponsor of Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace—leaflet, March 1949
- (28) National Negro Congress—endorser—call, February 14, 1936
- (29) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF—letter, June 10, 1954
- (30) Southern Conference Educational Fund—sponsor—folder, May 17, 1955
- (31) U. S.-Soviet Friendship Congress—sponsor—"Daily Worker," September 29, 1943, page 5
- (32) Washington Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—organizer of—"Worker," July 24, 1949, page 11
- (33) Wire to President Truman to Veto McCarran Bill—initiator—"Worker," September 17, 1950, page 3
- (34) World Peace Appeal—signer—"Daily Worker," August 14, 1950, page 2

Bruno Walter, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) American Russian Institute—sponsor—official program, October 19, 1943
- (2) Artists Front to Win the War—sponsor—"Daily Worker," October 19, 1942, page 7
- (3) Friends of Italian Democracy—member—program, April 17, 1947

Robert C. Weaver, Vice-Chairman of the Board, NAACP:

- (1) Council on African Affairs—endorser of program—"New Africa," October 1945
- (2) National Citizens Political Action Committee—member of executive committee—official list, August 28, 1944
- (3) National Negro Congress—discussion leader at second congress, October 1937—Appendix IX, page 1280

Robert C. Weaver—Con't.

- (4) Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," February 8, 1939, page 2
- (5) Social Work Today Cooperators—contributed \$5 in 1940—"Social Work Today," January 1941, pages 16-18
- (6) Testimonial Dinner, in Honor of Ferdinand C. Smith—sponsor—program, September 20, 1944
- (7) Washington Book Shop—affiliated with—House Committee, 1943

Andrew D. Weinberger, Vice-President and National Legal Committee, NAACP:

- (1) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—member of national council—letterhead, February 14, 1955
- (2) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—speaker—notice of luncheon meeting, May 25, 1955
- (3) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—treasurer—letterhead, March 14, 1956
- (4) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—member of executive committee—letterhead, July 8, 1957

Ruth Weyand, National Legal Committee, NAACP:

- (1) Chicago Civil Liberties Committee—member from 1936 or 1937 into the 50s—her testimony before House Committee, February 23, 1956, page 3314
- (2) Communist Party—member—testimony of Herbert Fuchs before House Committee, December 13, 1955
- (3) International Juridical Association—member of national committee—letterhead, May 18, 1942
- (4) International Labor Defense—member of legal advisory committee—yearbook, 1936-1937
- (5) International Labor Defense—member of legal advisory committee as of July 12, 1938—House Committee, August 1938, page 505
- (6) Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain—member—letterhead, March 5, 1938; prospectus and review, 1939
- (7) National Lawyers Guild—member 1936-1950; elected a member of national executive board in 1937, reelected 1938; elected treasurer 1939 or 1940; reelected to national executive board in 1946; elected president of District of Columbia chapter in 1946—her testimony before House Committee, February 23, 1956
- (8) Statement Against U. S. Policy in Mexico—signer—"Daily Worker," May 6, 1940
- (9) Washington Book Shop—member, 1941—her testimony before House Committee, February 23, 1956

C. Austin Whittier, National Health Committee, NAACP:

- (1) Southern Conference Educational Fund—signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF—letter, June 10, 1954

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP:

- (1) American League for Peace and Democracy—participated in fourth national congress, November 26-28, 1937—booklet, January 1938, pages 50-51
- (2) Conference on Pan American Democracy—sponsor—letterhead, November 16, 1938

Roy Wilkins—Con't.

- (3) International Juridical Association—member of national committee—letterhead, May 18, 1942
- (4) International Workers Order—backer—"Worker," December 24, 1944, page 12
- (5) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—member of executive board—booklet, 1938
- (6) Physicians Forum — speaker — program, October 8, 1949
- (7) United Front for Herndon—signer of petition—"Labor Defender," October 1935

Franklin H. Williams, West Coast Regional Secretary Counsel, NAACP:

- (1) New York Youth Council—member of board of sponsors—letterhead, April 21, 1947

James H. Wolfe, NAACP Committee of 100:

- (1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signer of open letter to President Truman—"Daily Worker," August 10, 1950, page 5
- (2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—signed of open letter for—"Daily Worker," March 31, 1955, page 8
- (3) American Peace Crusade and Peace Pilgrimage—initial sponsor—"Daily Worker," February 1, 1951, page 2
- (4) American Peace Crusade—initial sponsor—letterhead, November 28, 1952
- (5) Bachrach Open Letter—signer—letter, September 19, 1955
- (6) Bill of Rights Conference—sponsor—call, July 16-17, 1949
- (7) Cable Congratulations Luiz Carlos Prestes — signer—"Daily Worker," May 16, 1945, page 8
- (8) Chicago Committee against War Propaganda—signer of protest—folder, May 21, 1948
- (9) China Conference Arrangements Committee — sponsor of conference on China and the Far East—call, October 18-20, 1946
- (10) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder—favored clemency for Browder—letterhead, April 1942
- (11) Citizens Committee to Secure Bail for Martin Young—signer of letter to the Attorney General—"Daily Worker," September 29, 1952, page 2
- (12) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy — sponsor of conference on China and the Far East—call, October 18-20, 1946
- (13) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy — sponsor—program, January 23-25, 1948
- (14) Committee for Free Political Advocacy—signer of statement—press release, February 11, 1949
- (15) Committee for Free Political Advocacy—sponsor—"New Republic," March 29, 1949, page 32
- (16) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of open letter to Congress—letter, August 21, 1949
- (17) Congress on Civil Rights—sponsor—call, April 27-28, 1946
- (18) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo—representative individual—official booklet, 1937

James H. Wolfe—Con't.

- (19) Council for Pan American Democracy—signer of open letter to the President of Brazil to Save Luiz Carlos Prestes—"New Masses," December 3, 1940, page 28
- (20) Council for Pan American Democracy—signer—"Daily Worker," February 14, 1944, page 2
- (21) Council for Pan American Democracy—signer of open letter appealing for freedom of political prisoners—press release, June 8, 1945
- (22) W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee—sponsor—program, February 23, 1951
- (23) International Workers Order — defender of—"Fraternal Outlook," November 1948, page 6
- (24) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—signer of letter—"Daily Worker," April 29, 1949, page 2
- (25) Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain—member—letterhead, March 5, 1938; prospectus and review, 1939
- (26) Mid-Century Conference for Peace—sponsor—call, May 29-30, 1950
- (27) Nation Associates—sponsor of dinner-forum—program, May 25, 1952
- (28) National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case—clemency supporter—leaflet, 1953
- (29) National Committee to Win the Peace—sponsor of conference on China and the Far East—call, October 18-20, 1946
- (30) National Conference to Defend the Rights of Foreign Born Americans — sponsor — letterhead, December 13-14, 1952; call and program, December 11-12, 1954
- (31) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor of U.S.-Soviet Friendship celebrations—"Worker," November 12, 1944, page 8, magazine section
- (32) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—sponsor—letterhead, March 15, 1946; October 25, 1948; May 9, 1949
- (33) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—signer of statement—official release, June 23, 1948; "Daily Worker," February 17, 1949, page 4
- (34) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—sponsor of Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace—program, March 25-27, 1949
- (35) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—vice-chairman—"Daily Worker," May 1, 1950, page 12
- (36) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer of petition against the A-bomb—"Daily Worker," July 18, 1950, page 2
- (37) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer of statement asking end to DuBois indictment—"Daily Worker," June 29, 1951, page 8
- (38) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party—"Worker," March 18, 1945, pages 1-3, magazine section
- (39) National Lawyers Guild—signer of petition—memorandum and petition, January 1939

James H. Wolfe—Con't.

(40) Spanish Refugee Appeal—signer of open letter to President Truman urging anti-Franco stand—letter, April 27, 1949

(41) Statement Condemning Congressional Investigations—signer—"UE News," January 1, 1949, pages 6-7.

(42) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—signer of protest—"Daily Worker," February 21, 1940

(43) World Peace Appeal—endorser—leaflet, August 31, 1950

Edward L. Young, National Health Committee, NAACP:

(1) American Continental Congress for World Peace—sponsor—"Daily Worker," July 29, 1949, page 5

(2) American Peace Crusade—sponsor—letterhead, May 26, 1951

(3) American Peace Crusade—initial sponsor—letterhead, November 28, 1952

(4) American Peace Crusade and Peace Pilgrimage—initial sponsor—"Daily Worker," February 1, 1951, page 2

(5) American Sponsoring Committee, World Congress for Peace—sent greetings—leaflet, April 20-25, 1949

(6) Bachrach Open Letter—signer—letter, September 19, 1955

(7) Bill of Rights Conference—sponsor—call, July 16-17, 1949

(8) Committee to Defend the Victims of the Committee on Un-American Activities—signer of petition to UN—booklet, May 10, 1950

(9) Committee of One Thousand—signer of letter urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities—"Daily Worker," January 3, 1949, page 7

(10) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact—signer of statement to President Truman—press release, December 14, 1949

(11) International Workers Order—defended—"Daily Worker," June 18, 1951, page 8

(12) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—sponsor of Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace—program, March 25-27, 1949

(13) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—signer of petition against the A-bomb—"Daily Worker," July 18, 1950, page 2

(14) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—member of board of directors—letterhead, January 16, 1951

(15) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions—approved Black's dissent on Smith Act—St. Louis "Post-Dispatch," June 20, 1951

(16) Petition to President Eisenhower Urging Fundamental Changes in the Federal Loyalty-Security Program—sponsor—"Physicians Forum Bulletin," September 1955, pages 13-16

(17) Physicians Forum—sponsor—program, October 8, 1949

(18) National Committee to Defend Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Associates in the Peace Information Center—member—letterhead, October 19, 1951

Edward L. Young—Con't.

(19) Statement of Principles for the Defense of Democracy—signer—statement, January 22, 1954

(20) Statement Supporting Dissenting Opinions of Black and Douglas Toward the Smith Act—signer—"Masses & Mainstream," August 1951, page 17

(21) World Peace Appeal—endorser—leaflet, August 31, 1950

(22) Physicians Forum—member of board of directors—letterhead, November 1957

Lorin Bradford Young, NAACP Committee of 100:

(1) American League for Peace and Democracy—speaker—"Daily Worker," June 7, 1938, page 4

(2) Consumers National Federation—sponsor—program, December 11-12, 1937

(3) Letter Supporting Simon W. Gerson—signer—"Daily Worker," February 10, 1938, page 1

(4) Melish Brief of Joseph Fletcher, and Others, "Amici Curiae"—signer—Supreme Court, State of New York, March 13, 1950

(5) Melish Brief "Amici Curiae"—signer—U. S. Supreme Court, January 11, 1951

(6) National Emergency Conference—sponsor—call, May 13-14, 1939

(7) Open Letter to President Roosevelt Protesting Deportation Order Against Harry R. Bridges—signer—letter, April 22, 1943

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SEGREGATION AND THE SOUTH



Address by

JUDGE TOM P. BRADY
of Brookhaven, Mississippi

Delivered to the

COMMONWEALTH CLUB
OF CALIFORNIA

at San Francisco

on OCTOBER 4, 1957



*The Commonwealth Club has
been addressed by seven United
States Presidents beginning with
Theodore Roosevelt, and by
many of the distinguished lead-
ers of this and other nations.*



This address was broadcast over
14 California Radio Stations

Judge Tom P. Brady

The author of the book "Black Monday" is a past Vice President of the Mississippi Bar Association, and is now serving his second term as Circuit Judge of the 14th Judicial District of Mississippi.

Judge Brady was born in 1903 in Brookhaven, Mississippi, and has lived there all his life. For the past 20 years he has practiced law in Brookhaven. He was graduated from Lawrenceville Preparatory School, Lawrenceville, New Jersey; received his B. A. degree at Yale University, and his law degree at the University of Mississippi. He taught sociology at the University for two years. These facts are shown in "Who's Who in the South and Southwest."

Judge Brady has been one of the South's foremost spokesmen for states' rights and racial integrity and is famous for his scholarly, dignified presentation of "The Case for the South."

Segregation and the South

It is indeed an honor to be invited to address the distinguished membership and guests of the renowned Commonwealth Club of California.

I have been invited to speak on SEGREGATION AND THE SOUTH, and I have been requested to do in twenty-seven minutes that which cannot adequately be done in several hours. I will do my best to present the case for the South and I know you will give me a fair hearing. I shall try to be objective, but if I fail in this regard, I assure you that I can and will be truthful. I earnestly hope that no one will be offended. I shall remember that I am your guest, but let me assure you, I will not sacrifice truth on the altar of courtesy.

Integration is defined by Webster: "To bring together the parts of; to give the sum total of; V. I. to pass from a complex and unstable state to one relatively simple and stable." It means, therefore, a blending or flowing together.

Segregation is defined by Webster: "To separate or set apart from the others or from the rest; to isolate." It is essential that you realize that in the twelve Southern States, segregation means something quite different from what it means in the other States. In the South, segregation is something more than a definition in a dictionary. It is something more than securing the Negro's block vote. Segregation in the South is a way of life. It is the means whereby we live in social peace, order and security. It is the guarantee whereby our wives and children are afforded the common decency and protection which is essential if any harmonious relationship is to exist between two different races. Segregation exists not merely because we prefer it, but because we must maintain it. Self preservation, the first law of life requires that we do so. It is our shield and buckler—our refuge, our fortress. It is the first commandment and not the last.

Ninety-eight per cent of both races prefer segregation. Integration is urged by the NAACP, a few Southern mulattoes, Northern Communist-front organizations and left-wing labor groups who would use the unsuspecting Negro as their tool. It does not work

any economic hardship nor deprive the Negro of any of his constitutional rights.

I want you to distinctly understand that the South does not hate the Negro. I dare say you know little, if anything about the true Southern Negro. Among the finest characters I have ever known are Negroes. There is a great deal of genuine affection and understanding between the races. We have lived harmoniously together with a minimum of violence and bloodshed. We have nurtured the Negro, taught him, provided for him, educated him and endeavored to make of him a worthwhile citizen. The Negro has made great strides and the Southern white man is largely responsible for these advancements. In Mississippi, and in other Southern States, Negroes who have desired to do so have become well educated and wealthy. Millionaires are included in this group. This group has among its numbers doctors, lawyers, teachers, business men, insurance executives, merchants and plantation owners. There is no field of economic endeavor which has been barred to the Negro. It is only in the social sphere that the barrier is raised.

There are many reasons why the Southerner must refuse to permit integration with the Negro in the social planes of our life. Time will not permit analysis of all of them, but the basic ones can be enumerated. First, the high percentage of Negroes in the South is of gravest importance, and constitutes one reason. The national average which the Negro bears to the white man in America is only 10%. In Mississippi, however, it is 45.3%, in Georgia and South Carolina it is 38.8%. The great State of California has but 4.4%. The State of New York, that yearns so for the welfare of the Negro in Mississippi, has but 6.2%; New Jersey 6.6%; Pennsylvania 6.1%, and Oregon has but eight-tenths of one per cent. Montana and Nevada have two-tenths of one per cent and South Dakota has one hundredth of one per cent, or 275 Negroes. In the States of New York, Illinois and Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where so much turmoil and strife have arisen over the desegregation of the public schools, where mass demonstrations of violence have taken place, just as they have in Tennessee and Arkansas, if these States had 45.3% of their population Negro, I shudder to think what violent clashes would have taken place between the Negroes and whites. If, in San Francisco

County, California, as in many counties in Mississippi and other Southern States, the Negroes outnumbered the whites five and six to one, I wonder how willing you would be to have complete educational and social integration.

There is, as every honest socialist knows, a distinct correlation between the degree of segregation of the races and the numerical strength of the Negro. The reason is obvious. If in the South the Negro was permitted, as he is in some Northern States, to obtain the ballot by simply reaching 21 years of age, it would mean that no qualified white man in many counties throughout the South could ever hold public office. It would also mean that in the halls of Congress, seats now held by competent white representatives would be held by ignorant, incompetent Negroes.

While I regret that I must do so, I must nevertheless comment upon some of the intellectual and moral aspects of the reason why the South must remain socially segregated. The average vocabulary of the Negro in the South consists of approximately 650 words. I hesitate to estimate the I. Q. of the average Negro of the South, since the Federal Government refused to give me the results of the intelligence tests given in World War II and in the Korean conflict. The NAACP objected to the furnishing of this information. I can, however, safely say that based upon the tests which are available from World War I, and from personal experience, there is a vast gulf of difference between the I. Q. of the Negro of the South, as well as in America, and the average white man. It is because of an inherent deficiency in mental ability, of psychological and temperamental inadequacy. It is because of indifference and natural indolence on the part of the Negro. All the races of the earth started out at approximately the same time in God's calendar, but of all the races that have been on this earth, the Negro race is the only race that lacked mental ability and the imagination to put its dreams, hopes and thoughts in writing. The Negro is the only race that was unable to invent even picture writing.

An exhaustive study of the program and results of integration in the schools of Washington, D. C., which the NAACP and other left wing groups fostering integration said would be a model for the rest of the United

States to follow, clearly reveals that the average white student who was integrated in the class room with the Negro has been retarded two to three years in his educational progress. Therefore, it is not to the best interest of America that the white children, particularly in certain congested sections, be retarded three years in their educational advancement. Never forget that the left-wing socialist groups are forever grading down, never grading up the intelligence, the industry and the genius of this country! They wish to equalize, thereby reducing to a low minimum the intelligence of America. There is certainly less than one per cent of the white people of the South who would ever agree to marry a Negro. Miscegenation has largely taken place, I am glad to say, North of the Mason-Dixon line, and whatever laxity which has heretofore existed in Southern mores permitting clandestine relations between Negroes and whites has almost entirely disappeared. The rule is now hard and adamant. This is taboo in the South! We presently do not fear miscegenation.

The main objection to social integration of the races in our schools or elsewhere by Southerners is for moral reasons. I again repeat, there are exceptions to the rule, and among the finest citizens I have known are numbered Negroes. They are, however, exceptions. In a remarkable treatise, "WHERE IS THE REIGN OF TERROR?" by Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi, published in the Congressional Record on school integration in Washington, it is succinctly shown that the white boys and girls of Washington were subjected to unspeakable vulgarity, immorality and filth. The truth is often brutal, but I must speak it! As revealed in this exhaustive study, objectively made, the white children of Washington, D. C. were retarded two to three years in their educational advancement. The obscenity, vulgarity, immorality and brutality which came about requires the constant maintenance of policemen in the halls and corridors of many of the schools. Obscene pictures and notes were placed on the desks of white girls by Negroes. The radiators, stairs and halls were utilized as rest room urinals by Negroes. The carrying of concealed weapons, the vicious aggravated assaults, the actual rape and attempted rape of white girls and even teachers are some of the results found in this model example of what integration in our high

schools can produce. Make no mistake about this, the Southern fathers and mothers are not going to permit their daughters to be humiliated or insulted by Negroes, or by anyone else! They are not going to permit their daughters to have to resist the lewd advances of Negro boys. They are not going to permit their sons and daughters to be subjected to the abysmal vulgarity of Negro children who are urged to take every possible advantage of the white children. Possibly, I cannot speak for the South, but I can speak for Mississippi, and I tell you this, we have already, by constitutional amendment, authorized our legislature as other Southern States will do, to abolish the public schools if the Negro and white children are ever integrated therein. Make no mistake about it, we will abolish our public school system and establish private schools for our white children, and we will still provide and see that the Negro is educated separately. It will cost dearly, but we will do it.

Few isolated assaults with deadly weapons have taken place in either white or colored schools in Mississippi. Such assaults are numerous in Washington, Chicago, New York and other cities where the Negro and white children have been integrated.

The Negro, in so far as sex is concerned, is not immoral, he is simply non-moral. He merely follows his natural instincts. The pregnancies and illegitimate births which have occurred in schools in Washington are not abnormal, they are merely astounding! The high percentage of venereal diseases among the Negro children is tragic. In the South, we have not and do not punish the Negro except in rare instances for desertion, illegitimacy or bigamy. To have two or more common law wives along with a legal wife is not unusual for Negro men. The white race is now on the verge of forever abolishing incest. The Negro is still far behind. In the South, we punish the Negro for incest and there are now on my Docket, as is frequently the case, indictments against Negroes who have begotten children by their daughters. We cannot count for nought the natural indolence and indifference of the Negro's nature. We cannot disregard his utter disregard for the laws relating to theft. We cannot overlook his proclivity for drunkenness and dope addiction. We cannot overlook his natural tendency to immorality and violence

and subject our children to the terrible consequences resulting from such traits through integration. In California, the Negro constitutes 4.4 per cent of your total population, yet 19 per cent of all crimes committed in California were committed by Negroes. In the State of New York, the Negro constitutes only 6.2 per cent of the total population, and yet 40.1 per cent of the prison population of New York is Negro. In Mississippi, the Negro constitutes 45.3 per cent of the population and commits 73.4 per cent of the crimes. In the District of Columbia, the Negro's mecca of America, according to the 1950 census, the Negro constituted 35 per cent of the total population, and the Negro prison population is 70 per cent, or twice the ratio of Negro population to that of white population. This is a national disgrace. The District of Columbia has more Negro convicts than either Louisiana, or Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Texas, Kentucky, or Maryland.

Experienced Southern officials and honest sociologists with experience on the subject, point to the presence of segregation as one of the principal contributions to the low incidence of crime in the Southern States. "They are firm in the conviction that segregation serves as a restraint on the exercise of imagined license, which the Negro confuses with liberty."

The most completely integrated city in America is our national capitol. Let us see what integration has produced for the citizens of Washington where, since 1940, the Negro population has increased by 186,000 and the white population has increased by 9,000. Since the last census of 1950, it is estimated that Negroes compose almost 45% of Washington's adult population, and 71 per cent of the public school population. Yes, the Supreme Court's order to stop discrimination and to embrace the Negro race was issued from a city which had already tried it with what result. In 1955, as disclosed by the Honorable Evetts Haley of Texas, of every seven murders committed in Washington, six were by Negroes. Of every eight cases of rape, seven were committed by Negroes. Of every five burglaries, four were committed by Negroes. Of every twenty juvenile crimes, nineteen were committed by Negroes. Of every forty-one cases of venereal diseases, forty were Negroes. Desegregation has come home to roost. It comes

with ironic justice to roost in the city of the Supreme Court itself—Washington, D. C.

Segregation is but one distinguishing characteristic of the South, it has other attributes. The South is the citadel of conservatism. It is a bastion for constitutional government. For years Mississippi and the entire South have been gravely concerned over the socialist trend of our Federal Government. Beginning with the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the South viewed with alarm the birth of the welfare state, and the growth of the 130 odd Communist-front organizations which nourish it. The South has constantly disapproved the prodigal give-away program to the Communist and socialist countries abroad. It resented the competing by the Federal Government with private industry. It deplored the tolerance shown the Communist and left-wing groups in America. None of these stimuli, however, were sufficient to precipitate a genuine "grass roots" movement, but Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana did boldly cry protest in 1948, when these States walked out of the National Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, organized the States' Rights Party, nominated and voted for Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi as its presidential and vice presidential nominees. The conservative constitutional people of the United States had an opportunity then to vote for two men who were bitterly opposed to the gradual socialization of America and the destruction of the sovereign rights and powers of the forty-eight states by a totalitarian inclined Federal Government. Our stand provoked only ridicule and abuse. It was only when the Supreme Court of the United States, on May 17, 1954, handed down the infamous Black Monday decision that the people of the South realized that the "die was cast", that the "Rubicon had been crossed", and that they had no alternative except to organize completely and resist the ultimate result of that illegal, sociological and unconstitutional decision.

Thus it was the Citizens' Councils were born. It is the medium whereby the South proposes to and will nullify this illegal decision. The Citizens' Council is the counterpart of the old New England Town Meeting. Membership, however, is selected and restricted. The Citizens' Council is a good

cross-section of that City or County it represents. Among its members are lawyers, doctors, ministers, industrialists, merchants, employees, farmers, plantation owners and laborers. Jews, Catholics and Protestants alike become members when they subscribe to an oath of non-violence and pledge to support in every legal way possible the maintenance of segregation and preservation of the rights of the States of this Union. We have no Ku Klux Klans in Mississippi, no John Kaspers, and we want none. The Klan is negligible in the South.

There are in Mississippi 362 Councils with approximately 85,000 members. Throughout the South, there are more than 300,000 Council members. Each Council is completely autonomous and has obtained from the State a Charter. There is moreover, in each State a board of directors which represents every Council in that State; and there is a south-wide co-ordinating agency in which eleven of the twelve Southern States are represented, known as the Citizens' Council of America.

The Citizens' Council paper has a circulation of 65,000. It is sent into every State of the Union and is placed on the desk of every State Legislator and important public official. Every high school library receives it. Every member of Congress and the personnel of many Federal Agencies likewise receive this paper.

Primarily, the Councils are dedicated to the preservation of segregation and the sovereign rights of the States of this Union. They are opposed to the communizing and socializing of our labor organizations, churches and schools. The Citizens' Councils are determined to do everything within their power to prevent the broadening of the powers of the executive branch of our Government, and the usurpation by the judiciary of powers vested solely in Congress. They are determined to resist the enormous and unwarranted pressure which is brought to bear on both major political parties and on all branches of our Government by the left-wing minority groups. The Councils will resist to the bitter end the proposed welfare state and its destruction of the obligations and liberties of the citizens of this country. Above all, the Councils are dedicated to non-violence and have prevented lynchings and mob action in the South. The Councils firmly believe that within the confines of the true constitution

of this Government and within the Constitutions of the respective States, an orderly, peaceful and legal means exist whereby these objectives can be secured and maintained.

Though there are many facets to the movement to completely integrate the Negro in the South, the basic cause we know is of world wide Communist origin and design. In 1910 four white persons and one Negro founded the NAACP in New York City. They were Wm. M. Walling, a Russian-trained revolutionary; Mary Ovington White, and Oswald Garrison Villard, a socialist and descendent of a Civil War Abolitionist; Dr. Henry Moskowitz; and W. E. B. DuBois, its present Negro "Honorary Chairman" with not less than 72 citations of Communist, Communist-front and subversive activities entered against his name.

The president, executive secretary, special counsel and chairman of the board of directors of the NAACP; eleven of its twenty eight vice presidents, its treasurer, twenty eight of its forty seven directors—and many other associates are cited in the files of the Un-American Activities Committee or designated by the Attorney General as affiliated with or participating in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling, or subversive organizations.

We realize that the drive for complete integration of the races in the South is but a small segment in the over-all plan to first socialize and then communize America. Positive proof of this can be found in the Communist Party's National platform adopted on May 25, 1928, which included every demand for Negroes which is now found in TARGET FOR 1963, a pamphlet published by the NAACP in 1956, giving its program and objectives. The Communist have decided that every adult Negro in the South shall be franchised so that the Negroes will hold a large number of the seats in the State Legislatures and will occupy the Southern seats in Congress. The report of the National Committee of the Communist Party of October 5, 1955, concluded with this advice: "Pass civil rights legislation! End segregation! Full equality for the Negro people—now!"

The February number of the Red magazine, PARTY VOICE, said, "Victory would mean desegregation, majority rule and Negro representation. Victory would mean the re-

placement of the Dixiecrat delegations to State and National Legislature by spokesman for the Negro people, labor and poor farmers."

What would happen to the country if the twenty-four Southern United States Senators were replaced by ignorant Negro and Communist labor leaders. I cannot help but wonder how the rights of Californians and the people of all the States would fare if the seats of the United States Senate which have been filled by men such as Cordell Hull, James F. Byrnes, Walter George, Harry Byrd, Bankhead, Thurmond, Ellender, Lyndon Johnson and James Eastland were usurped by Communist Negroes or labor leaders. What would happen to this country if the hundred odd Southern members of the House of Representatives of Congress were replaced by Angelo Herndons and Reverend Kings. It is a fact that Communist sympathizers and left-wing organizers, founded the NAACP and largely control it. It is indisputable that the Communist groups have infiltrated some of the labor unions, our colleges and our churches, and are all chanting for integration. A war is being waged by them to capture the American mind. The South above all other sections of the country has stubbornly resisted and fought these groups which are communizing our Government. The NAACP knows this, labor knows this, and the Communists know this, and we are, therefore, the target of their resentment and unending hate. We have grown accustomed to the misrepresentation, vituperation and abuse that is daily heaped upon us by Northern left-wing news media and vote hungry socialist politicians. We can take it, because we are waiting for that day, and believe that it is not far distant, when conservative Americans will unite and all constitutional, liberty loving citizens in this country will rise up in our defense and join hands with us in waging our lonely fight to protect and preserve America from Godless Communism!

A. Phillip Randolph, a Negro and a vice president of the AFL-CIO, and director of the NAACP, outlined the methods to be used in organizing the white and the Negroes in unsegregated unions in the South in his publication, THE MESSENGER. He wrote, "The time is ripe for a great mass movement among the Negroes, revolution must come; we mean a complete change in the organiza-

tion of society, the capitalist system must go and it's going must be hastened by the workers themselves; a bullet is sometimes more convincing than a hundred prayers, sermons, protests and petitions; we are especially thankful for the Russian Revolution—the greatest achievement of the Twentieth Century.”

Two of the Communist aims calculated to destroy the conservative South have been accomplished. First, the infamous illegal Black Monday decision of May 17, 1954 outlawing segregation in the schools. The second great victory for the Communist is the Civil Rights Bill recently enacted by Congress on August 29, 1957. This bill inaugurates a Second Reconstruction Era in the South. As Congressman William Colmer has said, it will affect, however, not only the South because the sovereign rights of every State in the Union have been violated. This iniquitous act, like a loaded pistol, is aimed at the South which has contributed so much to the foundation and perpetuation of our Republic.” “It is not the South, the Democratic Party or the Republican Party which will suffer the most. The real victim in the tragedy which was concluded will be the Republic itself, for once the trigger is pulled, the freedom and basic rights of all sections of this country will be further curtailed. The powerful arm of an already powerful Federal Government will be further stretched out into every metropolitan center into every town and hamlet of this great country, North, South, East and West, for the further regimentation of our citizens. This could well be the final step next to achieve the goal of the true proponents of this legislation—the complete destruction of the sovereignty of the States and the centralization of all power of the people in one strong centralized Government under the dome of the capitol in Washington.” As R. Carter Pittman of Georgia has written in his splendid booklet “The Broken Constitution,” “As we in the South once more pass into our garden of Gethsemane, thence to bear our social judicial cross, we plead with our brothers to the North and to the West not to let their sympathy and understanding be limited by latitude or longitude.” We will fight the good fight, we will run the straight race, we shall not resort to violence. We condemn and deplore these sporadic acts of violence which have occurred in the South and in the North. We will fight

within the confines and powers of our respective State Constitutions and the Constitution of the United States.

If this country is to be saved from Communism, as Carter Pittman has said, “It must be saved by the white people of the South and West. We did not ask for this burden, but we will bear it. Our Yankee friends to the North and East may not want to be saved, but they should be saved too, and also the white and the Negro race. Let it be known, however, that we in the South do not intend to obey men, however exalted their seats or black their robes or hearts. We intend to obey the laws of God and to obey the laws of this country which are made in accordance with our Constitution. We will live as free men, or die as becomes the descendants of those who died that we might live in the freedom to be different, with the liberty to be left alone.” Finally, so that there may be no vestige of doubt in your mind how we feel regarding segregation, I now fervently say, “Dum vivamus tum segebimur et post mortem—deus volans, etiam nunc sic erit,” which literally translated means, “As long as we live, so long shall we be segregated, and after death, God willing, thus it will still be! Though you may not agree with what I have said, it is indeed a great honor and sacred right for you to have permitted me to say it.

Additional copies may be had, postpaid, for:

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Please send cash, money order or check with order.

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS
Greenwood, Mississippi





FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

WRITE TO THE

EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE
CITIZENS' COUNCILS
GREENWOOD, Miss.

READ AND PASS ON



WE NEED YOUR HELP

We hope you can make a contribution to the Educational Fund which will be used to

- (1) Publish and distribute nationwide factual literature presenting the case for states' rights and racial integrity.
- (2) Initiate a movement to enter the national propaganda media such as the national press services, television, radio, national publications and the motion picture industry.

Our auditors believe contributions will be deductible from your income tax. Every effort will be made to get this tax-free status, and we believe these efforts will be successful.

The
Educational Fund
of the
Citizens' Councils



Greenwood, Mississippi

68671

WHY DOES THE SOUTH NEED AN EDUCATIONAL FUND?

The use of propaganda and infiltration is as old as mankind. Webster's new collegiate dictionary defines propaganda as "Any organized or concerted group, effort, or movement to spread particular doctrines, information, etc.; a plan for the propagation of a doctrine or system of principles."

The fact that the South is now being propagandized towards accepting integration is obvious to any Southerner who listens to the radio, looks at television, reads the national magazines or even attends moving picture shows.

The NAACP, in 1953, officially launched a 10 year, 10 million dollar nationwide "Educational Program" under the slogan, "Free by Sixty-Three." The purpose of the campaign is to prepare public opinion for the total "integration" of negroes into white society, and the deadline has been set for 1963.

The NAACP, using the vast power of the negro bloc vote, and other methods of pressure, has acquired many allies. The point is, this propaganda campaign now coming into your living room did not just happen. It was carefully organized, planned and financed. The idea, of course, is to make anyone who resists integration appear as a bigot, a hatemonger, etc.

We must counteract this propaganda campaign. The campaign is directed primarily against the minds of our young people, who by nature are more susceptible to propaganda. If propaganda is recognized as such, it is not dangerous. If it is not recognized, it is indeed deadly. This propaganda is designed to gain support for integration in the North, and to break down resistance to it in the South.

Integration cannot stand the light of truth and logic. By the use of facts and truth, we can appeal to all Southerners for support. When we have that support, we can then present the case for the South to this nation.

It must be noted that in every case where schools in border States have been integrated, it was done voluntarily by white people who lived in the community. As proof of this, look at Hoxie, Arkansas, and Clinton, Tennessee. White integrationists who live among us are more capable of integrating us than are integrationists up North. Of course, we must reach citizens in every State.

There are probably numbers of Southerners who, for various reasons, would prefer not to join a local Citizens' Council, although they believe in States' rights and racial integrity. These people may support our cause, without belonging to a local organization, by contributing to the Educational Fund of the Citizens' Councils, Incorporated. The officers of this Association are bonded and are well known throughout the State. A quarterly financial statement is presented to the Statewide Board of Directors.

WHAT IS THE EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL?

This is a Mississippi corporation, domiciled at Greenwood, Mississippi, and which received its Charter of Incorporation from the Secretary of State on December 15th, 1956. It is a non-profit corporation which issues no capital stock, and whose period of existence is perpetual. The purpose for which this corporation was created is:

(a) To encourage the free discussion by the citizens of the United States of those problems upon the solution of which depends the welfare and prosperity of the United States.

(b) To disseminate facts to the citizens of the United States, with reference to the serious problems confronting them; and to encourage the citizens of the United States to solve these problems in a peaceful, lawful and orderly manner.

(c) To improve the physical, mental and moral condition of mankind by education.

(d) The rights and powers that may be exercised by this corporation, in addition to the foregoing, are those conferred by chapter 4, title 21, code of Mississippi of 1942, and amendments thereto. The present Officers and Directors of this corporation are listed below.

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The Directors of this corporation, four from each of our six Congressional Districts, are elected in January of each year by the Executive Committee of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi. This Board of Directors is responsible for the collection and disbursement of the funds of this corporation.

WHAT DOES THIS FUND PROPOSE TO DO?

1. Publish and distribute nationwide factual literature presenting the case for States' rights and racial integrity.
2. Initiate a movement to enter the national propaganda media, such as the national press services, television, radio, national publications and the motion picture industry.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

All of this racial agitation and clamor for integration did not "just happen." The whole campaign has been deliberately planned, lavishly financed, and the careful impression built up that it is the "wave of the future" instead of a wholly contrived and artificial undertaking.

The cure for this situation will not "just happen" either. Adequate countermeasures must be planned and executed with equal skill, but the crucial element is money.

Money provides the sinews with which to conduct the fight.

In the opinion of our auditors, the Educational Fund of the Citizens' Councils will qualify for tax-exempt contributions. The Educational Fund will be conducted in strict compliance with requirements of the Internal Revenue code.

Administration of the Educational Fund will be conducted under the direction of the Executive Committee of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi.

Contributions may be sent to:

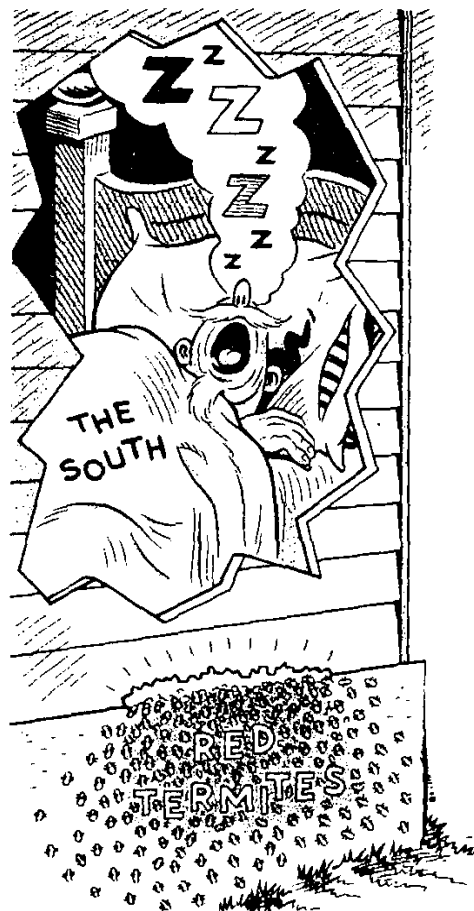
EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS

P. O. Box 886

Greenwood, Mississippi

While we slept, the foundations of our society were being eaten away. Many of us are now awake! But we need to awake millions more. It is going to take hundreds of thousands of dollars to get the message across. LET'S GO!

While We Slept



FAMOUS QUOTATIONS



THEODORE G. BILBO

"If our buildings, our highways, our railroads should be wrecked, we could rebuild them. If our cities should be destroyed, out of the very ruins we could erect newer and greater ones. Even if our armed might should be crushed, we could rear sons who would redeem our power. But if the blood of our white race should become corrupted and mingled with the blood of Africa, then the present greatness of the United States of America would be destroyed and all hope for the future would be forever gone. The maintenance of American civilization would be as impossible for a negroid America as would be redemption and restoration of the white man's blood which had been mixed with that of the negro."



SUPPORT THE
EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE
CITIZENS' COUNCILS, Inc.
GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

THE
MID-WEST HEARS
THE
SOUTH'S STORY



An Address by

WILLIAM J. SIMMONS, Editor
THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL

Before the

OAKLAND FARMERS-MERCHANTS
ANNUAL BANQUET

OAKLAND, IOWA

February 3, 1958

Farmers-Merchants Annual Banquet

Oakland, Iowa

February 3, 1958

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it is a high honor to have been invited to appear before you on the occasion of your annual Farmers-Merchants Banquet. You are most generous to ask a visitor from the Deep South to meet with you, and it is a tribute to your intellectual curiosity to entertain a brief discussion of a subject and an organization which have been the objects of some controversy in the national press. I am here not as an apologist for my section or as a critic of yours. I shall simply try to present to you as objectively as I can certain facts as we see them. Our viewpoints may differ, but I respect your right to your opinion, and I assume you will grant me the same consideration.

OUR COMMUNITY OF INTEREST

The ties between our sections and our states are many. Perhaps the strongest, and certainly the most personal tie, is the splendid Iowans and other Middle-Westerners who have found their way south to become valued residents of Mississippi. One of our most respected and popular citizens in Jackson is from right here in Oakland, Mr. Maurice Thompson.

There are many other ties which bind us together in a community of interest more enduring than is generally thought. Despite the industrial growth in the South in recent years, we are primarily an agricultural region, as are you. It may interest you to know that meetings of this nature, where farmers and merchants renew and strengthen the bonds of personal acquaintance, are an important part of our social and economic relationships, as they are of yours.

Our two regions are essentially conservative in their politics and in their general social orientation. In fact, the largest difference seems to be in party labels. You are largely Republican, we are mostly Democrats. But our basic political philosophies are almost indistinguishable, Modern Republicans and Americans for Democratic Action to the contrary notwithstanding. I have known many rock ribbed Northern Republicans and many rock ribbed Southern Democrats, and my observation is that these rocks and ribs become interchangeable with facility when the owner moves from one section to another.

Our two regions are both dynamic strongholds of States' Rights and of responsible local self-government. One of the most stirring states' rights speeches I have been privileged to hear was delivered by a distinguished mid-western senator to a cheering audience in Jackson, Mississippi two years ago.

It is the view of many observers in the South that if some method could be devised whereby our two regions would align themselves politically on the national level, the mis-named "liberal" elements in both parties would lose the inordinate influence they have exercised in the selection of candidates for President at the national conventions. Domination of the Executive Department of our government of course follows this selection and convention control. A detailed analysis of the 435 congressional districts in the United States will reveal that slightly in excess of 100 or one-fourth, are "liberal." The remaining three-fourths are conservative.

Direct newspaper, radio and television coverage of the address reached an estimated audience of 2,000,000 in Iowa and Nebraska. Wire service coverage was nation-wide.

I use the word "liberal" in the current corrupted sense, of course, not in its correct historical sense. The word "liberal" is an honorable term that has been kidnapped by those who are about as liberal as a steel trap.

It is interesting to note that the bases of "liberal" power are mainly dense metropolitan areas, whereas the conservative representation in Congress comes predominantly from the rural states. Yet under our existing political arrangement, all you and we have seen this numerical preponderance produce in the way of results is the coalition of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats that has functioned effectively, at times on the defensive in stopping legislation designed to increase further centralization of power in the federal bureaucracy. I am not familiar, however, with a single instance where this coalition has been able to operate with anything approaching the efficiency of the Modern Republicans and Americans for Democratic Action in holding to an aggressive course of action aimed at positive long-range victory for their views.

There are a number of reasons for this situation. But in my humble opinion the largest contributing factor is the present electoral college device whereby the entire electoral votes of a state are awarded to the presidential candidate whose party polls a majority of the popular vote in that state. In the large states of New York, Illinois, Michigan, California, Ohio and Pennsylvania, having a total of 181 electoral votes, where Republican and Democratic strength is rather closely divided, the metropolitan left-wing bloc vote is controlling. Consequently, those blocs exercise a political leverage in convention, and in the respective national parties, that is decisive. The proposed Mundt-Coudert constitutional amendment to change the method of allocating electoral votes would break this stranglehold. Then certainly the national policies of our government would begin to reflect the views of the Mid-West and the South as well as those of Harlem and Southside Chicago.

Your region is perhaps inclined to be more isolationist than ours. This is undoubtedly due to your position in the midst of America's great heartland, whereas we have historical trade and cultural ties with Europe and Latin America.

THE SOUTHERN SYSTEM

We have considered briefly some of our similarities. Now, let us look at the towering fact that makes our social system different from yours. According to the 1950 census Iowa had a total population of 2,621,073, of which 19,692 are Negro. This is 75/100 of one percent. Mississippi has, according to the 1950 census, a population of 2,178,914 of which 986,494 are Negro. This is 45.28 percent. In other words, of every 100 persons in Iowa, 99¼ are white and ¼ of one person are Negro. In Mississippi, 45¼ of every 100 persons are Negroes. There are only nine states having a smaller percentage of Negro population than Iowa. Mississippi has the highest ratio of Negro to Caucasian in the nation. In some Mississippi counties the ratio runs as high as 4 blacks to one white.

It would be idle for anyone to pretend that for two such different racial groups as the Caucasian from Northern Europe and the Negro from Africa to live in the same area in such relative numbers does not present problems of the first magnitude.

What have the people of the Southern States done to solve these problems?

Following the War Between the States, when our grandfathers were locked in tragic conflict, the dark days of Reconstruction lasted over a decade. The South was under military occupation. The white people were disfranchised. Negro supremacy was virtually complete. Gradually the white people of the South organized and recovered control of their local affairs. This process, coupled with a revulsion in national politics against the excesses and abuses of the Reconstruction brought an end to the era of Negro-carpetbagger rule that had brought possibly as much economic devastation to our region as four years of war.

There followed a period of some 80 years during which our bi-racial social system developed. This system might best be described in the words of the famed Negro educator, Booker T. Washington, to the effect that in economic matters we work together as one hand, but in all things social we are as separate as the fingers.

Under this system, which is scornfully referred to as "segregation," but which should more accurately be termed "racial separation," the Negro in the South made more rapid strides in economic and educational progress than any ethnic group in the history of the world. This could not possibly have been achieved without the whole-hearted cooperation and assistance of his white neighbor.

Under our bi-racial system whites and blacks live side by side in an atmosphere of frank recognition of their respective cultural and racial differences, but with respect one for the other. The well defined code of personal decorum between white and black in the South has been the object of much ridicule from the social experts of New York City. But, gentlemen, that code arises from a consideration of the Negro's feelings, and a desire to spare him the cutting personal discriminations he does not escape in the Northern metropolis.

The point I wish to make is that we live with a social system that works. It is based on reality. It is based on law. It is based on the human experience of generations.

The ease with which families from the North become adjusted to the Southern environment would certainly seem to indicate that they do not find it unsympathetic or alien to their own attitudes.

The prevailing viewpoint of the overwhelming majority of Southern people ought to carry conclusive weight in any consideration of the problem. No thoughtful person could ascribe the entire folkways of a society to mere superficial bias without foundation in the facts of life.

THE "LAW OF THE LAND"

On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court lowered the boom! In the case of Brown vs. Board of Education it ruled that separation of the races in public schools was unconstitutional. The South was stunned, though any student of the subject could have seen that the trend of decisions since the Court's degeneration into a political board in the late New Deal days pointed straight to this doctrine.

The misconception has arisen, I find, outside the South, that the Supreme Court decision is "the law of the land," and that anyone who does not comply with it is violating or defying "the law of the land." That simply is not so. The Supreme Court ruling, without going into its legal defects and

bald usurpation of power, is nothing more than the law of the particular case. The Supreme Court cannot pass laws, though we often are given that impression. The law of the land is the Constitution of these United States and legislation adopted by Congress.

Be that as it may, the important effect as far as we are concerned is that a weapon has been handed the left-wing pressure groups, and to the social revolutionaries who run them, with which they can wreck a quarter of this nation and more, if they are permitted to use it at will.

You may say, "What concern is this of mine, here in Oakland, Iowa? Sure, you folks down South have a problem, but why bother me with it."

May I say to you that when any court takes leave of the law and starts rendering edicts based on sociology, it is high time for all Americans to wake up. I quote from an editorial entitled "The Rule of Whim" from the Omaha, Nebraska World-Herald: "The desegregation opinion of some three years ago — in which the learned Chief Justice, the former Governor of California, Earl Warren, based his interpretation of the Constitution upon the writing of left-wing sociologists and psychiatrists — was little short of an open scandal." If any court can tell the people of Mississippi or Louisiana that they shall run their public schools according to the theories of certain social revolutionaries, then that Court can tell the people of Iowa or Nebraska that they shall run their schools according to notions equally as radical. If our States' Rights are usurped with impunity, are yours safe?

It is true that the most obvious effects of the May 17th, or Black Monday, decision fall upon the Southern and border states. But all Americans who love their country should be vividly aware of the profound constitutional crisis this usurpation has precipitated.

We hear our country constantly referred to as a "democracy." It is not. It is a republic of 48 sovereign states.

The original 13 colonies, at the onset of the Revolutionary War, declared themselves free and independent States. They were loosely united under the Articles of Confederation and had a Congress in which each State voted as a State. The Second Article of Confederation asserts State sovereignty in absolute and unequivocal terms. The Constitution of September, 1787 went to the States represented in Congress under the Articles of Confederation, and the agreement was, that if nine States ratified the instrument the Constitution would become binding as to those nine. The other four could have stayed out, and North Carolina and Rhode Island very nearly did.

The Constitution was therefore ratified by the States acting in their sovereign capacities as independent, separate political communities. The Constitution, or contract, among the States established the central, or federal government.

Certain specific, limited powers were delegated by the states to the central government, principally the authority to provide for the common defense of the states and to operate post roads and post offices. All other powers not specifically granted to the central government were reserved to the states or to the people. We have indeed allowed ourselves to drift a long way when the hand of the central government is today in every man's

business, and when it presumes to change the social structure of 40 million Americans regardless of their rights and wishes in the matter.

Gentlemen, I respectfully submit that how you run your schools is your business. I also submit that how we run our schools is our business. If the people in New York want to haul children across Manhattan and the Bronx just for the privilege of being in an integrated school, that is their business. If they want to keep police stationed in every integrated school to keep good order, as a grand jury recently demanded, that is their business. If the Washington, D. C. school system wants to adopt policies that run the white parents out of the District, that is their business. If the big cities of the North want political machines based on an irresponsible bloc vote, that is their business. If they want to integrate with the Buffaloes on the Western plains, that is their business.

But if we in the South want to have social separation of the races, then that is our business.

What Southern groups have demanded that the North remake its social customs and institutions in the image of Dixie? The absurdity of such a question is its own answer. Yet despite the dismal record of chaos and violence from the Blackboard Jungles of Brooklyn, St. Louis and Kansas City, we are told that suddenly after all these years we have become "un-American" and "un-Christian" because we want no such Blackboard Jungle for our children. Last week horrible stories of inter-racial crimes and violence in the integrated New York schools broke through the censorship. Where are the "liberal" voices that clamored for the military occupation of Little Rock? Where are the orders alerting army units for riot duty in the New York area? Where are the paratroopers? Where are the professional do-gooders? Where are the swarms of reporters, the flash blubs, the screaming headlines, which we in the South have come to know so well?

Forty-one schools in New York have requested police protection. Such conditions are utterly unknown in the southern separate school systems. We have no organized criminal gangs terrorizing students and teachers. I recall no incident where police have ever been required to keep order in a single segregated white or Negro school in the South.

I think most observers would agree that no single decision by a Supreme Court has caused as much dissension and turmoil, or has more dangerously threatened to re-open old sectional wounds, as has the school segregation ruling. Let us inquire for a moment into the reasons behind that decision. Then let us consider the probable effects and what the South is going to do.

THE INTEGRATION MOVEMENT

In the first place, the radical pro-integration movement which brought about the Supreme Court decision is not primarily a Negro movement. It is especially not of Negro origin. The situation that confronts us at the present time did not "just happen." The Supreme Court did not just decide all of a sudden after searching through the law books that schools, buses, parks, swimming pools and residential subdivisions had to be integrated. We are seeing the fruits of half a century of intensive work by a number of inter-related pressure groups who knew exactly what they wanted, and who employed revolutionary techniques with considerable skill and

ruthless effects to gain their objectives. One of their leaders said that the Supreme Court de-segregation decision was the result of fifty years of unremitting labor.

Of these pressure groups, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is best known, and the one specifically responsible for the Court decision. Its history dates from 1910. It was founded by Mary White Ovington, a social worker from New York, William Walling, a writer from Louisville, Ky., Dr. Henry Moskowitz, a New York political leader of Rumanian origin, Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of the famous abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, Dr. John Dewey, founder of the Progressive Education movement, all five white, and W. E. B. DuBois the only Negro. Mary White Ovington, in her book about the NAACP, describes the founders as Socialists. DuBois became editor of the official NAACP publication, *The Crisis*, and was for many years the organization's chairman. DuBois has one of the longest records of pro-Communist activity of any person in the country.

The first legal victory of the NAACP dates all the way back to 1915. In that year, Miss Ovington writes, they won a decision from the Supreme Court throwing out the grandfather clause with respect to voting qualifications in the Oklahoma constitution. She also says that their Legal Committee included such men as Clarence Darrow, Francis Biddle, Frank Murphy and Felix Frankfurter. This is the same Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter who filled up the New Deal bureaus with "bright young men" from Harvard, and who participated in the very school cases engineered by the NAACP.

It is interesting to note that the record shows financing amounting to \$133,850 was provided for the NAACP during the early depression years by The American Fund for Public Service. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, has the following to say about The American Fund for Public Service: "Established in 1922 * * * it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party Enterprises such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications, Federated Press, Russian Reconstruction Farms, and International Labor Defense. William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, and Scott Nearing, a leading writer for the Party, served on the board of directors of the Fund."

The public record of activities of many top NAACP leaders in Communist-front enterprises is long, and it is copiously documented.

A former top Communist, a graduate of the Lenin School in Moscow, testified under oath last year that some NAACP leaders held memberships for 12 to 15 years in Communist front organizations. He said it would be impossible to stay with the Communists for this long through all the party line changes and flip flops in policy unless the Communist doctrine had been absorbed. He said the NAACP use of the recent Supreme Court decisions on segregation is an example of the communistic methods of helping create conflicts, and that racial incitation accomplished by the Communists and recently by the NAACP has brought about a menacing bloc vote on the part of Negroes.

A New York Negro, former high official in the Communist Party, has under oath described the National Association for the Advancement of Colored

People as having "outlived its usefulness and become a vehicle of the Communist Party designed to overthrow the government of the United States."

In 1953 the NAACP officially launched a 10 year, 10 million dollar nationwide program under the slogan, "Free by Sixty-Three." The purpose of the campaign is to prepare public opinion for the total social integration of Negroes into white society, and the deadline has been set for 1963.

At the present time the NAACP operates under a \$1,000,000 annual budget, with half of it devoted to propaganda.

On the NAACP board of directors are listed such celebrities as Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, Daisy Bates of Little Rock fame, former Senator Herbert Lehman of New York, Walter Reuther of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. and Eleanor Roosevelt of One World and outer space.

This is the organization that brought about the Supreme Court "desegregation" decision, as it is called. It supplied the plaintiffs, supplied the lawyers, and virtually supplied the evidence cited. (An American Dilemma by Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish socialist, was largely the product of NAACP writers). It was influential enough to get the U. S. Justice Department to intervene as an amicus curiae, it had one of its former legal advisors sitting on the bench, and provided the financing for the cases. After getting this sociological decision which flew in the face of 80 years of legal precedent, who do we find acting as the policeman to enforce the decision? The NAACP.

At this very moment, that organization is going all out to build up a vast Negro voting bloc across the South.

From our observations of the fate of Northern metropolitan areas where this organization and its allies are in power, it takes no great intelligence to conclude that we can never permit them to gain comparable power in our section. It would mean a repetition of the Reconstruction era in the South.

But do not take my word for it. Let them speak for themselves.

In Collier's magazine of August 17, 1956 there appeared a highly significant article entitled "The Negro Voter—Can He Elect A President?" The article was thorough and objective. The aims of these people were summed up as follows: "Strategy of the highly organized Negro pressure groups is stated with unquestionable clarity and accuracy. This strategy is as simple as it is profound. It is to alter totally the patterns of southern custom and life." How is this to be accomplished? We are told: "Negroes speak of this objective from their own parochial point of view. But on the broad scene, the attainment of this objective will change our national politics at a stroke. For the Old South, with its familiar voices in Congress—so often distinguished, so often antique—will be dead. The new men it sends to Congress, to be elected in large part by colored votes, must speak in different accents entirely. Then, truly, the roots of Congress change and politics lurch into new, uncharted seas."

I leave it to your judgment as to whether the best interests of our country would be served by replacing Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia with another Charles Diggs, or Senator Richard Russell of Georgia with another Adam Clayton Powell.

I have mentioned only the NAACP.

Time permits me only to name a few of the other inter-related organizations which divide up the field.

The Urban League, founded in 1910, operates on a budget of \$2,500,000 a year. It concentrates on integration in the fields of (1) housing and (2) employment. The public record shows much of its leadership involved in Communist-front activity over a long period of years.

The Fund for the Republic, established by the Ford Foundation, has poured \$2,000,000 into the race integration fight in the South in the past three years. Much of this has taken the form of grants to religious denominations to finance various integration projects and propaganda. The largest single grant amounted to \$445,000 for the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, which has affiliates in every Southern State except Mississippi. The Mississippi affiliate folded after being exposed in a public hearing. Southern Regional Council is regarded as the southern nerve center of the integration campaign. I quote from the American Legion's official publication *Firing Line*: "Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of inter-relationship between the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization." The House Committee on Un-American Activities cited Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South although its professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States." The American Legion goes on to show that 16 former directors and 9 current directors of Southern Regional Council were affiliated with the subversive Southern Conference For Human Welfare, which Earl Browder has described as "one of the transmission belts of the Communist Party."

There have been few major undertakings in history which are better documented than the deep involvement of the Communists in the race incitation and integration controversy in this country. This is not to say, of course, that everyone who is for integration is a Communist. That is certainly not true. But it is to say that the Communists and their hundreds of respectable fronts have been and are one of the major sources of support and agitation for the integration drive.

EFFECTS OF COURT DECISION

Let us consider now for a moment the probable effects of the Supreme Court's excursion into race relations.

For this purpose we may divide the country into four categories of varying ratios of Negro population and distribution. It is important to remember that the South is geographically integrated. Its Negro population is predominantly rural. The North is geographically segregated. Its Negro population is almost completely confined to the big cities.

First category. Those states where the Negro percentage is negligible. Iowa with 75/100 of one percent is a good example. Here you have no problem. However, you will begin to see a determined effort made for increased social prestige, such as an occasional Negro campus "beauty queen," etc. It makes little difference to their careers whether or not your representatives vote for the misnamed civil rights

bills because there is no issue at home, and they can accede to the demands of the national party without fear of adverse reaction at the polls.

Second category. Those states where the Negro ratio is around 6 to 7 percent, but highly concentrated in strictly segregated metropolitan slums. Illinois, with 7.3 percent of her total population colored, is an example. Most of these live in Southside Chicago. They are increasing rapidly due to migrants from the South. They are highly organized politically, very militant and explosive. It is predicted by some that Chicago will have a Negro mayor in a few years. The danger of serious race war from the expanding Negro slums is acute. We are beginning to see definite signs of resistance among the whites and the organization of neighborhood protective associations. Tensions stay high. Demands of the Negro pressure groups are extreme. It is not improbable that we will see the creation of a white bloc vote along strictly racial lines as a result. It should be noted that until recent years the North has not experienced real integration in the sense it is now being pushed.

Third category. The border states such as Tennessee, with 16.12 percent Negro, which have a history of segregation, but where the white population has heretofore been substantially indifferent to the issue. Here there has been some integration in the schools, but far less than is generally supposed. Here we see the incidents such as Little Rock, Clinton, etc. With the exception of Washington, D. C. which is rapidly becoming re-segregated with all deliberate speed due to the exodus of white parents with school age children, integration has ground to a screeching halt in the border states. Pro-segregation sentiment and organizations are increasing. Friction is rising in the trouble spots and it is apparently becoming more difficult for the NAACP to find school boards and politicians who will cooperate with their demands.

Fourth category. In the Deep South states, such as my own Mississippi, with 45.28 percent colored, there has been no integration whatsoever in the public schools since the Black Monday decision. There are no prospects of any. The Negro farm population is rapidly moving North, and thousands of young white couples are moving South with industry.

State legislatures have erected an intricate network of laws designed to maintain separate but equal schools. In the words of Senator Byrd of Virginia, "Massive Resistance" has become public policy. Any candidate for public office who is less than militant on the burning issue would be unmercifully beaten at the polls.

How did this happen? How is it that with all these powerful, highly financed pressure groups arrayed against us, aided by the Supreme Court, both national political parties, oceans of propaganda from the metropolitan press, many religious groups at the national level with some Southern penetration, hundreds of college professors, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the President's FEPC and the 101st Airborne Infantry, that we haven't just caved in?

I admit the other side has pretty good odds.

From a distance our position looks much worse than it does at home. There are several reasons for this. The main one is that we cannot be integrated from Washington by the bureaucrats, or even from New York by the eggheads. The only way we can be integrated is at home. And we are doing plenty

about that.

THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS

You may have heard about the Citizens' Councils. According to the pro-integration forces, the Citizens' Councils are responsible for stopping race mixing in its tracks and for the resurgence of States' Rights sentiment throughout the region.

What are the Citizens' Councils? How do they operate? How have they accomplished their objectives, and what are their objectives?

Having devoted the past three years to the movement, I have some familiarity with it.

Let me say first, several things that the Citizens' Councils are not. They are not Ku Kluxers. They are not John Kaspers. Mr. Kasper has no connection whatsoever with the Citizens' Councils in the South. He is from Greenwich Village, New York.

The Citizens' Councils are not anti-Negro. A sharp distinction has always been drawn between the great masses of Southern Negroes and the NAACP, which has attempted to portray itself as their representative.

It does not take much perception to realize that the integrationists' propaganda is skillfully designed to make anyone who does not go along with them appear an "ignorant," "uneducated," "unchristian," "unAmerican," "prejudiced," "bigoted," "hatemongering," "racist reactionary." Whereas, he who agrees with their views is an "intelligent," "well educated," "christian," "moderate," "tolerant," "progressive," "liberal," "man of good will."

We knew when we started organizing to protect our rightful interests from the assaults of the groups mentioned previously that we would be maligned and subjected to the most vicious personal attacks. But it was a price that had to be paid.

I will not dwell on the history of the Councils. John Bartlow Martin, one of America's most respected journalists, wrote a dispassionate and objective series of five articles for the Saturday Evening Post last summer under the title "The Deep South Says NEVER" that covers the subject. The series has been expanded into book form under the same title.

I will describe the Council movement briefly as it now stands.

Each Citizens' Council is completely autonomous, independent and self-governing. Each is organized on a strictly local basis. The smallest would include a cross roads community with 50 members or so. There are hundreds of these. Some are set up on a county-wide basis, the largest geographical unit. The largest single organization is the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans which has 30,000 members. Most Councils are chartered under the laws of their respective states as non-profit corporations. Each Council makes its own by-laws governing requirements for membership, elects its own officers, collects its own dues, handles its own local problems, etc. The local leadership is elected from civic-minded men exactly like you in this room. All of the local officers in a county will elect one man to serve as county chairman. The 69 county chairmen in my state form the state association, which coordinates through a 24-man executive committee the 300 separate Citizens' Councils in Mississippi, having an aggregate membership of 85,000. Most of them are farmers, merchants, professional men and housewives.

The executive committee sets the policies for our Mississippi State Association and is responsible

for the operation of two offices at Greenwood and Jackson, each staffed by five persons. These offices act as information and organizational centers. I work in the Jackson office, and serve at the pleasure of my directors.

There are nine similarly well organized responsible state associations which work together on a regional basis through the Citizens' Councils of America, which has three men from each state on its board. These states are South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. The total size of the movement is estimated at approximately 350,000 active members.

To give you an idea of our approach to the sizeable task before us, our office in Jackson has three functions. It serves as local headquarters for the Jackson Citizens' Council which has 3,000 members. It handles public relations for the Mississippi State Association, and publishes the official paper of the Citizens' Councils of America, which has a considerable nation-wide circulation. In addition, we have produced for nearly a year a weekly 15-minute television program. The latest audience rating survey indicates 125,000 viewers. The program is now being transcribed on tape especially edited for radio and will be offered to radio stations throughout the South. We are considering placing the program on selected Northern stations, if they are interested. Almost every high public official in Mississippi has appeared on the program in full support of the Citizens' Councils. Five congressmen appeared on one panel discussion. In addition, such notables as Congressman Martin Dies of Texas and Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia have been featured guests.

Our two offices have participated in the organization of scores of local Councils. We have a highly qualified lady in charge of ladies' activities. Our state association has supplied speakers for countless civic and patriotic groups, including two in California and six in Chicago. We have established an Educational Fund to help bring the true facts to the public. Our correspondence for three years has ranged from 300 to as high as 700 pieces a week. In the past two years, as the South became better organized and assured, the bulk of our correspondence has originated in the North and far West. Gentlemen, I can tell you that Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland and Detroit are powder kegs. We hear personal stories that would curl your hair. Life, limb and property are in daily peril in large areas of those models of integration that we are told we must emulate.

To illustrate the operation of a local Council, let us look at the one in my own home town, which is the most familiar to me. Jackson is a clean, modern, well ordered city of 150,000. 40% of its population is colored. They pay 4% of its taxes. The schools for both races are excellent by any standards. We have a fine city auditorium for the exclusive use of the colored people which is better than the old national guard armory used by the whites. Well appointed parks with swimming pools are provided for both races.

The Jackson Citizens' Council was organized in early 1955. At that time our people felt discouraged and most would gloomily admit that while they didn't like it, "integration was coming." The years of propaganda instilling the idea of inevitability had taken effect. The Council started out with 150 members. By summer it had increased to about 500. Then the local NAACP demanded that the Jackson Schools

integrate, and threatened discipline by the courts if immediate compliance was not forthcoming. The Council stood firm by the school board, and the demands were ignored. Evidence of deception began to appear as signers of the integration demand began to withdraw with statements their names had been obtained under false pretenses. The attempt collapsed.

The Jackson Citizens' Council now has grown to 3,000 members. A thousand joined during the Little Rock incident. The Council represents a cross section of almost every social and economic level. Among our 50 member board of directors are 9 past presidents of the chamber of commerce. By occupation, our board of directors includes 8 lawyers, 2 bank presidents, 3 manufacturers, 1 gas utility president, 1 electric utility executive vice president, 2 paper company owners, 2 insurance agents, 1 funeral director, 3 housewives, a deputy state tax collector, a TV station manager, a dentist, 3 public relations men, an investigator for the Public Service Commission, a dry cleaner, 3 union men (AFL, CIO, RR), a supermarket manager, the State Bank Comptroller, an oil man and a general contractor.

We are organizing down to the ward and block level.

We now have started a house to house canvass and survey which is expected conservatively to increase the membership to 10,000. The Council is experienced and alert. It has gained the sense of maneuver in this type of psychological warfare that is so important to victory. It has learned successful tactics that will win against the kind of revolutionary groups we face.

Our strategy is elementally simple, as you may have guessed. It is simply to out-organize, out-wit and out-work those who would take over our beloved land.

With the kind of organization we are building, with responsible, sensible leadership, and with its influence deeply rooted in the power structure of the community, we firmly believe that the ideals of personal freedom and property rights under which this country has grown great will prevail for us and for our children.

The Citizens' Councils are strictly non-political, but the political effects of their grass-roots work will undoubtedly be felt increasingly in state government. They are non-denominational, but untold numbers of devout church members have multiplied the Council's educational work by getting their churches out of politics and sociology, and back to the Word of God. The Councils number members of all faiths in their ranks—Protestants, Catholics, Jews and a few Greek Orthodox. In south Louisiana the movement is predominantly Catholic.

The Councils have published and distributed over 7,000,000 pieces of literature since their inception. These include essays and articles by Senators, Congressmen, attorneys, ministers, college presidents, judges, and other qualified authorities discussing various aspects of race relations and the struggle against centralized government.

Many of these have been used widely in our schools to counteract the unceasing flood of integration propaganda filtering down through the various media.

Why, you may ask, are you telling us these things? After all, we have our own problems, and we are not that interested in what the folks do down in Dixie.

May I respectfully submit to you, gentlemen, that you have a profound stake in what we do, and in what happens to us.

Has it occurred to you that the social revolutionaries who are working to remake the South in their own image are not just interested in racial integration? They are above all **collectivists**. They are driving for increased national power. The South has to be dealt with because it stands squarely in their way as the strongest remaining bulwark of our constitutional form of government that protects **your** property rights and **your** personal freedoms, as well as ours.

How long do you think you would enjoy your own rightful interests if these revolutionaries succeed in establishing a totalitarian welfare state in Washington? Do not deceive yourselves. Since 1932 the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the other deals have never wavered from one course, however soothing the words or how alluring the promises. That unswerving course is the steady march toward an all powerful centralized government.

The Citizens' Councils are not just a pro-segregation movement. They represent the substantial beginnings of a fundamental conservative revolt. The thousands of men who have given unstintingly of their time and substance are moved by a deep unrest that has been growing for the past 25 years, but this unrest was not impelled to active organized form until the bald attempt to abolish the Constitution by judicial decree in 1954 precipitated a crisis.

The Citizens' Councils are not just a sectional, Southern movement. It is very significant, to name one instance, that we find ourselves working side by side with other patriotic groups in the North, to defend the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act from heavy attack by the Communists and their allies.

The Citizens' Councils, as you have seen, are not just an extremist minority. They represent the broad stream of thought and attitude in our section.

There is a direct conflict of interest between the conservative people of this country and those totalitarian "liberals" who would use the Negro as a means to power.

It is my deliberate and considered opinion that if our friends and fellow countrymen in the other great sections of our land will organize themselves and become an effective responsible force in their local communities and states, the growing threat of a collectivist welfare state will be speedily dissolved.

History has now come almost full cycle. Seventy years ago the South's most eloquent spokesman, Henry W. Grady, said before the Boston Merchants Association: "If there is any human force that cannot be withstood, it is the power of the banded intelligence and responsibility of a free community. Against it, numbers and corruption cannot prevail. It cannot be forbidden in the law or divorced in force. It is the inalienable right of every free community—and the just and righteous safeguard against an ignorant or corrupt suffrage. It is on this, sir, that we rely in the South. Not the cowardly menace of mask or shotgun; but the peaceful majesty of intelligence and responsibility, massed and unified for the protection of its homes and the preservation of its liberty. That, sir, is our reliance and our hope, and against it all the powers of the earth shall not prevail."

Thank you.



FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
WRITE TO THE
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WE NEED YOUR HELP

We hope you can make a contribution to the Educational Fund which will be used to

- (1) Publish and distribute nationwide factual literature presenting the case for states' rights and racial integrity.
- (2) Initiate a movement to enter the national propaganda media such as the national press services, television, radio, national publications and the motion picture industry.

Our auditors believe contributions will be deductible from your income tax. Every effort will be made to get this tax-free status, and we believe these efforts will be successful.



FAMOUS QUOTATIONS



THOMAS JEFFERSON

“Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these (negro) people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degree, as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their pace be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain look for an example in the Spanish deportation or deletion of the Moors. This precedent would fall far short of our case.”—Page 164, *Life Writings and Opinions of Thomas Jefferson*. By B. L. Rayner. Pub. N. Y. 1832. Library of Congress Class “E332”, Book “R 26.”



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FAMOUS QUOTATIONS

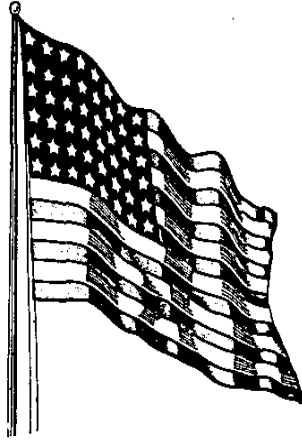


HENRY W. GRADY—1889

“If there is any human force that cannot be withstood, it is the power of the banded intelligence and responsibility of a free community. Against it, numbers and corruption cannot prevail. It cannot be forbidden in the law, or divorced in force. It is the inalienable right of every free community. It is on this, Sir, that we rely in the South. Not the cowardly menace of mask or shotgun, but the peaceful majesty of intelligence and responsibility, massed and united for the protection of its homes and the preservation of its liberty.”



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GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI



FAMOUS QUOTATIONS

JAMES F. BYRNES

“Frequently, the question is asked: ‘Where do we go from here?’ Solomon, with all his wisdom, could not give a positive answer. We do know that the approximately 40 million white Southerners will do everything that lawfully can be done to prevent the mixing of the races in the schools.”

“Power intoxicates men. It is never voluntarily surrendered. It must be taken from them. The Supreme Court must be curbed.”



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The New North Seen As National Headache

By J. FRED THORNTON

Associate Editor, The Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser

One of the most overworked expressions in use today is the one about "the New South" and "the Changing South." It is run in the ground by Yankees and Southern liberals.

We are told that in the New South, just around the corner, hardened Rebels will repent and reform, things outsiders object to will be swept away, and we will become the kind of men and women that Yankees, and of course God, would like to see us be.

As an old native of these parts, I submit that this is tripe of purest ray serene. It would be far more correct to speak or write of "the New North" and "the Changing North."

The North is changing far more than the South; in the all-important matter of the kind of people who live there.

The South has indeed changed greatly, and continues to change, when it comes to making better use of our resources and winning a fairer slice of the nation's wealth. In the business and economic field it is quite correct to speak of a "New South." We are making great gains in industry, in spite of the anguished howls of Yankees who still think of the South as a colonial area to be exploited, its sole mission to supply them with raw materials. We have stopped placing all our bets on cotton; we are cashing in on cows, grass and trees. Best of all, we have gotten rid of the down in the mouth, furi that banner attitude which followed the Civil War.

AFTER 50 YEARS

But in the makeup of its white population the South shows no great change since the start of the century. There are fewer Negroes in proportion to whites and in many areas the Negro population shows no actual decline. Even this is a matter of people leaving and not of hard-to-handle elements moving in, as in many parts of the country.

Fifty years ago, Negroes were about half of Montgomery's population; today they are roughly 30 per cent. Going into details on the white population, by far the most numerous element, today as 50 years ago, it is of English, Scottish Irish and Welsh ancestry. In 1908, Montgomery had old established Jewish families which had contributed much to the building of the community. We have old families, both Gentile and Jewish, which are virile and prominent in the city's life today, and, in addi-

changing before our eyes as new racial strains come in and older elements move out to escape contact with them.

Responsible Negro leaders have expressed concern over the surge of crime among members of their race up North. But Negroes are not due all the blame. Yankees who loved the colored brother so long as he existed, for them, only in the story books, sing a different tune when brought into close contact.

Several hundred thousand Puerto Ricans have moved into New York City from their overcrowded island in very recent years. I have never so much as laid eyes on a Puerto Rican, to know it. I would not do them an injustice; I assume there are some good people among them. But the Puerto Rican descent on New York has had a bad effect all around, as anyone who keeps up with the news cannot fail to note. They and the Negroes are the two biggest problem groups in the nation's biggest city.

It is argued that the horrible conditions under which Negroes and Puerto Ricans are compelled to live up North are partly to blame; I can readily see that this would be an influence.

Regardless of blame, the "New North" today is in the throes of a gigantic racial bellyache which gets worse by the clock. But it still finds time to censure and jab at the far more peaceful South. I wonder when, if ever, the alleged Yankee sense of humor will assert itself.

IN MONTGOMERY

The condition of the Negro in Montgomery has changed greatly in recent years. Negroes are better educated, they are making more money and living better; there are far more Negro business

tion, later arrivals who are making a place here. In 1908, as in 1958, Greek, German, French and other races contributed to the making of Montgomery. Some changes in the ratio of the various racial stocks are to be expected but the general picture, the basic population pattern, shows little change, apart from the reduced Negro ratio.

THE CHANGING NORTH

The North has changed tremendously, and it is still going on. The old Yankee stock, from which came the men who fought our ancestors in the great war nearly 100 years ago, has declined greatly in proportion to other, newer elements; it counts for far less than it used to, especially in the big cities.

I am not one of those patriots who sneer at newcomers to this country. Far from it. In Montgomery there are excellent people, men and women, who were born in other lands; people any community would be glad to have. In smaller Alabama towns also are found citizens of foreign birth who are well thought of and accepted by the community. We have received far fewer immigrants, and ours average up of higher caliber than those concentrated in the rat-infested slums of big cities up North.

Montgomery attracts professional men and small business men. Some of the latter start in a very modest way, maybe with a hole in the wall or a stand on the sidewalk. The point is that they—most of them at any rate—want to get ahead through legitimate hard work and intelligent application, and a large proportion succeed. The knife-wielding kind do not come our way, certainly not in any appreciable numbers.

IMMIGRATION REDUCED

Immigration has been greatly reduced since restrictive laws were passed shortly after World War I. But the face of things up North continues to be changed by movements of population on which there is no limit—Negroes from the South, and to a lesser degree, Puerto Ricans. These two latest waves are harder to digest than any before them. They go to make the "New North" where racial strife rages on a scale unknown in the South. Big cities up there are

and professional men than 50 years ago. The number of Negro voters is on the increase, and in other ways they are much more active in demanding what they consider to be their rights.

White Montgomery, on the whole, is sympathetic with Negro gains in education, business and better living. Granting the vote to Negroes is viewed with reluctance by many white people, who believe that applicants should be closely screened. I think we should have tighter voting qualifications for white people, too; regardless of race, I do not think a man should be automatically entitled to vote just because he is 21 and has managed to stay out of the penitentiary or an insane asylum.

But I see no sign of "integration" of greater mixing, between white people and Negroes in Montgomery. I believe there is actually less contact and association—taking into consideration all forms of contact and association—between the races than there was 50 years ago.

HOLLOW VICTORY

Yankee publications harp on the great victory Negroes have won here in getting bus segregation banned. I ride the bus to and from work every day. In the more than fourteen months since segregation was ended by court decree, I have not seen a single case of a white person occupying a seat beside a Negro. I do not say that there has never been such an instance, but I have never seen one. I have repeatedly seen white passengers standing rather than take seats beside members of the other race. In the rare instances where I have seen a Negro sit down beside a white person, the latter has always moved promptly, even though it meant standing up. I am glad to say that I have personally observed no hostile word or act. What I have witnessed is an unspoken determination on the part of white bus riders to remain aloof.

Is this the great victory for Negroes we have been hearing about? If so, what would it take to constitute a defeat? To me it is a straw in the wind which clearly shows the cruel folly of any further attempt at forced integration, in our schools for example.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

WRITE TO THE
EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE
CITIZENS' COUNCILS
GREENWOOD, MISS.

READ AND PASS ON



WE NEED YOUR HELP

We hope you can make a contribution to the Educational Fund which will be used to

- (1) Publish and distribute nationwide factual literature presenting the case for states' rights and racial integrity.
- (2) Initiate a movement to enter the national propaganda media such as the national press services, television, radio, national publications and the motion picture industry.

Our auditors believe contributions will be deductible from your income tax. Every effort will be made to get this tax-free status, and we believe these efforts will be successful.

The Story of the NAACP

As told by one of its Founders

"The Walls Came Tumbling Down"

BY MARY WHITE OVINGTON

Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York
Copyright 1947

*A few excerpts from this book
are as follows:*

Page 109—"Louis Marshall was another of our lawyers, and so was Felix Frankfurter."

Page 271—"The Legal Committee, headed since 1939 by William H. Hastie, is made up of many eminent lawyers of both races. Famous members have been Moorfield Storey, Clarence Darrow, Louis Marshall, Felix Frankfurter, Francis Biddle, Frank Murphy, Arthur Garfield Hays, Morris L. Ernst, and James Marshall."

Page 19—"The White American is growing darker, and the colored American seems to be slowly growing lighter."

Page 85—"At Birmingham I met the man who was to remain vividly in my memory among the people I had seen on this southern trip, the state secretary of the Socialist party in Alabama. I was at that time a member of the party, and had asked the New York Central Committee for this introduction."

Page 86—"He pulled a letter from his pocket. 'You'll be interested to see this for it's from a Negro comrade. Nicely written.' I examined the letter. It had the familiar ending. 'Yours for the revolution.'"

Page 100—THE NAACP BEGINS.

"The first of these statements is part of the resolution adopted at the second meeting of the Niagara Movement. Written by W. E. Burghardt DuBois, it was read by W. H. Hershaw at Harpers Ferry in the summer of 1906. The second statement is from an article on "Race War in the North," appearing in The Independent, September 3, 1908, and written by William English Walling."

"Out of these two statements the militant National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were born"

Page 101—"English Walling's article came out of the Race Riots at Springfield, Illinois, during the summer of 1908. He and his wife, Anna Strunsky, had just returned to America from czarist Russia where she had been imprisoned for a short time for her alleged revolutionary activities."

*Bureau
has this
book
1/24/49*

Page 107—"In the spring of 1910, we called Dr. DuBois from Atlanta University, giving him the title of Director of Publications and Research." "That fall he started *The Crisis*, a monthly magazine."

Page 108—"DuBois was a member of the board."

Page 112—"Most fortunately, about six months after we began, the Urban League was formed." "We could not have raised money for 'philanthropy' as successfully as an organization with a less militant program, and securing employment is a business in itself. So the two national organizations divided the field, working together from time to time as action demanded."

Page 115—"We paid him at once, but only because Jacob Schiff came to our rescue."

Page 118—Winners of the Spingarn medal — 6. William E. Burghardt DuBois, author, editor, founder Pan-African Congress, 1920. 26. Richard Wright, author, 1941. 27. A. Philip Randolph, labor leader, 1942. 30. Paul Robeson, actor, singer, and humanitarian, 1945.

Page 205—"It looked as if the Negroes would spend the bulk of the money until the Garland Fund, Roger Baldwin, president, voted to match the Association's every two dollars with one of its own."

Page 230—"One trip of interest was in 1923. While at Tougaloo, Mississippi, one of the teachers invited me to drive with her to the Women's College Club at Jackson. That a white teacher at Tougaloo should be a member of such a club was certainly an advance over the treatment that I had seen awarded Atlanta teachers." "Women's organizations on the whole are more democratic on the race question than men's."

Page 237—"During those years of lobbying in Washington, Johnson was in touch with every member of the Senate whom he felt he could possibly interest."

Page 251—"The new decade had started with a battle against President Hoover and the Republican party concerning the nomination of John J. Parker of North Carolina to a vacancy on the Supreme Court of the United States."

Page 252—"The Association at once looked up Parker's record. It found that when running for Governor on the Republican ticket in 1920, he had approved the literacy test for voters." "Then a campaign began against his nomination." "The branches, well-organized, thoroughly familiar with our work, knew what they were to do and did it faithfully, day after day."

Page 253—"It was a thrilling battle."

Page 254—"The vote came at last. Visitors crowded the Senate chamber. Sixteen Senators were paired, Of those voting, 39 voted for the acceptance of John J. Parker's name, 41 against it. The nomination was defeated."

Page 262—"This summary of unsuccessful legislation may seem uninteresting now that the subject is no longer before the public, but it served as a basis for six years of continuous and successful propaganda. In its intelligent and persistent placing of facts before the public, it vied with the Suffrage and Prohibition movements. Never for a day was the subject allowed to rest."

Page 263—"Feeling was strong in Harlem when voters had to choose between Gavagan and a man of their own race, but the stern command went out to vote for Gavagan."

Page 272—"Some signs were favorable. Presi-

dent Roosevelt, always ready to appoint the ablest Negro he could find, made William H. Hastie, now Governor of the Virgin Islands, a civilian aide to the Secretary of War."

Page 281—"DuBois, Holmes, Villard, and myself, four of the five incorporators can answer "Present."

Page 287—"Whenever I see or hear Robeson, I feel in the presence of a controlled, deeply sympathetic personality." "I wish he might represent us in Europe at the world's councils."

Page 289—"The radio for years has brought Negro music old and new to its millions of listeners. Its prize propaganda broadcast was given by Station WMCA in its program "New World A-Coming." Its many commentators from New York to Atlanta tell stories of the Negro's achievements, while they hurl their wrath against the lyncher."

Page 292—"The union is a stabilizing influence, the Reverend O. Clay Maxwell of Mt. Olivet tells me. Members must attend meetings or pay a fine. They acquire a sense of responsibility and learn of conditions outside their little group. Some become organizers."

Page 109—"The expense of our work fell upon a few people. Oswald Garrison Villard gave us room-rent in the Evening Post building and many hours a week of his time." "It is impossible to overestimate the value of the New York Evening Post when under Villard's management—1897-1918." "We struggled under the expense of irregularly paid counsel until in 1913 Arthur B. Spingarn and Charles H. Studin took over our legal work, carrying it on in their office." "In 1939, William H. Hastie became chairman of the Legal Committee, and Arthur B. Spingarn became the present president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, succeeding his brother, J. E. Spingarn, who succeeded Moorfield Storey. Without remuneration, these two board members, Spingarn and Studin, handled our legal work for us."

Page 111—"Members from farther away rarely attend our meetings." "DuBois, editor of *The Crisis*, attends board meetings as an elected member."

Page 124—"The National Association of Colored Women had been doing much work of its own especially in the South." "Negro women enjoy organization. They are ambitious for power, often jealous, very sensitive. But they get things done."

Page 152—"As Garrison, in the *Liberator*, relentlessly held up the horrors of chattel slavery to the world, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People relentlessly broadcasted this and other stories of the horrors perpetrated against the black man."

Page 223—"For a quarter of a century, the Association has been a power in California."

Page 243—"Our country needs his kind, both in our councils at home and abroad. He could do what our scientists say men must do or perish—look with clarity and reason at the problem of human relationship. And this man was the product of the blending of two dissimilar strains among the races of men."

The *National Guardian* of February 17, 1958, published at 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, New York, quotes W. E. B. DuBois as follows:

"I seek a world where the ideals of communism will triumph—to each according to his need; from each according to his ability. For this I will work as long as I live. And I still live." W. E. B. DuBois.

LAND OF ONE RACE

"In Brazil, you will find blue eyes and black skin, flat skulls with triangular faces, hair plaited in pigtails, white babies at the breasts of colored mothers, colored babies at the breasts of white mothers and colors running from ebony to eggshell via copper, olive, caramel, and banana.

A mixture of this sort has made any attempt at racial segregation out of the question in Brazil—because no one could possibly tell where white begins and black ends."

"Brazil has long since passed the rest of the world in its race relations. The so-called race problem simply does not exist in Brazil."

—Washington Afro-American News.

Is this to be the fate of our beloved Nation, decreed by nine political appointees to impress the Asiatics and using as their authority the writing of Socialist and Communist tinged authors?

This amalgamation has already begun in the North, but it can be checked by an aroused public opinion to nullify this infamous BLACK MONDAY decree.

Distributed by
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Greenwood, Mississippi

\$1.50 per 100

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These imprints are effective on letters, checks, envelopes and other communications.

These rubber stamps are available at our office for \$2.00 each, postpaid.

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CERTIFICATE OF STUDENT

Name _____
Mailing Address _____
High School _____
Subject _____

I hereby certify that the work on the attached essay is my own. Where I have quoted from authors on the subject I have indicated with quotations. I have received only suggestions of a supervisory nature.

Signature of Student

Date

STATEMENT BY SCHOOL OFFICIAL

Name of student submitting essay _____

Average grade of student _____

Character traits of student _____

Leadership qualities _____

Special Activities _____

Signature of school official

Date

Title

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Dedicated to

STATES RIGHTS AND RACIAL INTEGRITY

RULES GOVERNING CONTEST

SUBJECT:

- (a) Why I believe in social separation of the races of mankind.
- (b) Subversion in racial unrest.
- (c) Why the preservation of States Rights is important to every American.
- (d) Why separate schools should be maintained for the white and negro races.

AWARDS

Essay award at local high school level by local Citizens' Council.

\$50.00 for best essay by High School Boy.

\$50.00 for best essay by High School Girl.

State Educational Fund Award—

\$500.00 Scholarship for best essay by High School Boy.

\$500.00 Scholarship for best essay by High School Girl.
(Payable \$250.00 each semester)

FORM

Essay shall be 1500 words or less.

Essay must be typewritten and double spaced on 8½ x 11 unruled paper.

Manuscript must be accompanied by Certificate properly filled out and signed by both pupil and school official.

All manuscripts submitted will become the property of the Educational Fund of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi.

Manuscripts must be submitted by the pupil to the school principal accompanied by Certificate with pupil's part properly filled out, and sufficient postage, on or before the 1st. day of May. School principal will complete Certificate and mail with essay on or before the 10th day of May to:

The Educational Fund of the
Citizens' Council, Inc.
207 West Market Street
Greenwood, Mississippi

Essays will be judged by members of the State Contest Committee who are appointed by the chairman of the Educational Fund.

Winners will be notified by the Chairman of the Educational Fund on or before the 1st day of July.

Should the State winner not be a senior, the Scholarship prize money would be placed in escrow in a bank of his or her home town to be used during the winner's Freshman year in College.

PURPOSE

1. To assist our young people to develop into informed, patriotic, American citizens.
2. (a) To stress the importance of maintaining States Rights and Constitutional Government.

(b) To stress the importance of maintaining Racial Integrity.

SUGGESTED REFERENCE

BOOKS

"The Sovereign States" by James J. Kilpatrick
Henry Regnery Company
64 East Jackson Blvd.
Chicago 4, Illinois \$5.00

"States Rights—The Law of the Land"
by Charles J. Bloch
The Harris Company
Atlanta, Georgia \$10.00

"Black Monday" by Judge Tom P. Brady
The Association of Citizens' Councils of Miss.
207 West Market Street
Greenwood, Mississippi \$1.00

"The Cult of Equality" by Stuart O. Landry
Mr. Stuart O. Landry
305 Chartres Street
New Orleans, Louisiana \$3.50

"White America" by Col. Earnest Sevier Cox
P. O. Box 116
Richmond, Virginia \$2.00

"The Age of Error" by W. E. Michael
Vantage Press, Inc.
120 West 31 Street
New York 1, New York \$3.50

"The Tragic Era" by Claude G. Bowers
Houghton Mifflin Company
The Riverside Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts \$5.00

MAGAZINE

U. S. News and World Report
David Lawrence, Editor

OTHER REFERENCES

Transcript of Hearings
"Subversion in Racial Unrest"
Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee
P. O. Box 450
Homer, Louisiana \$1.50

PAMPHLETS

"A Christian View on Segregation"
by Rev. Guy T. Gillespie

"The Supreme Court Must Be Curbed"
by James F. Byrnes

"The Congressional Committee Report on what Happened When Schools Were Integrated in Washington, D. C." — Congressional Record

"Mixed Schools and Mixed Blood"
by Herbert Ravenel Sass

"The Ugly Truth About the NAACP"
by Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook

The pamphlets listed may be obtained, free, by writing to the Association of Citizens' Councils, 207 West Market Street, Greenwood, Mississippi. There are many other excellent references which are not listed here.

We have had many requests for a rubber stamp bearing the quotation —
"BROTHERHOOD BY BAYONET"

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These rubber stamps are available at
our office for \$2.00 each, postpaid.

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS

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February 6, 1958

Today, white and Negro war veterans, who require treatment in Veterans Administration Hospitals, are forceably integrated in wards with the opposite race, regardless of the resulting mental anguish and physical discomfort.

Congressman Jamie Whitten (D-Miss.) has introduced a bill in Congress which would require V. A. Hospitals to provide separate facilities for white and Negro veterans who request them.

Every Veterans group, every patriotic organization and every individual, who is interested in the welfare of our war veterans, should write or wire Congressman Whitten, and their own Congressmen and Senators, in support of this bill.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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Applicant for the Next Vacancy in The

**UNITED STATES
SUPREME COURT**

The Christian

LAYMAN

VOLUME I

APRIL 1958

NUMBER 1

Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.

Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to *stand* against the wiles of the devil.

For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.

Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to *withstand* in the evil day, and having done all, to *stand*.

Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness;

And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;

Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.

Eph. c 6, v 10,16.

This Quarterly is published in the months of January, April, July, and October and is the official organ of Baptist Laymen of Alabama, Inc. Communications should be addressed to P.O. Box 2562, Montgomery, Alabama.

THE CHRISTIAN LAYMAN SALUTES YOU!

THE BAPTIST Laymen of Alabama are happy to send you this, the first issue of their quarterly magazine, *The Christian Layman*. Our magazine will appear regularly in the months of January, April, July and October. It will bring to its readers material which will explain, and help to carry out, the purposes of our organization, as these are stated in the Constitution and By Laws of our organization. See page 24, post.

The Baptist Laymen of Alabama stand by the ancient and time tested doctrines and principles which are imbedded in the way of life in the South, which are in keeping with American traditions, and with the Constitution of our land and our State.

We believe in the separation of the races in our schools, our churches and in our social life. We follow the teachings of our consciences in holding that it is not un-Christian to believe in and practice segregation, and our consciences are the great beacon lights that God has set in all, "the conscience of each bosom."

We believe in the absolute preservation of the integrity of the white race, and of all other races. We hold that the integration of the races is contrary to natural law, and that the moral law, which is the product of the Hand of God Himself, proclaims that God created the races of mankind.

The Christian Layman will do everything in its power to combat all subversive forces, to expose them for what they are, and to battle for the separation of the races in churches, schools and social life. This magazine can dedicate itself to no higher or nobler purpose.

BAPTIST LAYMEN OF ALABAMA

Life is a grindstone and whether it grinds us down or polishes us up depends on the stuff of which we are made.

Write Senator Harry Flood Byrd and tell him how much you appreciate his efforts in our behalf.

"THE CHRISTIAN LAYMAN"

By DEAN FLEMING, Secretary

THIS FIRST issue of *The Christian Layman* comes to you with the prayer and desire that it will furnish you with information you are looking for, information that is not widely circulated but limited to certain areas and certain groups. These are troubled times, times when confusion runs rampant, tempers burn to a white-hot and reasoning powers, stormtossed, drift aimlessly. Men in places of leadership speak their opinions and ideas and close by saying "and I represent, and am speaking the sentiment of millions of peoples," when actually, upon close check, he is speaking for a very, very small group; the top brass. Such actions as this pitch man against man, race against race and nation against nation. Who actually speaks for whom? Individuals make up a community; communities make up townships, townships make up cities and counties and the cities and counties make up our states. . . and the states our nation. IT ALL HAS TO START WITH THE INDIVIDUAL, and no one man, or group of men, have any authority, more than that vested in them by the individual. We feel that when the individual, furnished with ALL the information concerning any issue, will act for the best interest of all concerned. Our only desire is to act in the capacity of submitting information, leaving to you as an individual, the prerogative of making your own decisions. GOD GRANTED ADAM AND EVE THIS FROM THE VERY BEGINNING! All of the ideas expressed are not necessarily in accord with our thinking in different matters but we feel you have the right to know.

THE CHRISTIAN LAYMAN is published quarterly by Baptist Laymen of Alabama, Inc. Address all communications to P.O. Box 2562, Montgomery 6, Alabama.

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Twenty-five cents the copy—one dollar yearly.
Club rates 10 for \$8.50.

SOME DISTURBING TRENDS IN THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH†

By PAUL D. HASTINGS
Reidsville, N.C.

I HAVE BEEN ASKED by your laymen's Governing Committee to present to you some of the disturbing things and trends that are in our Southern Presbyterian Church, and which are causing much concern among many of the members of the Church who are aware of them. This is not a pleasant task and what I have to present does not make a pretty picture, but that is why they are matters of great concern. Because of the time limit, I shall not be able to go into detailed explanations, or present as much evidence as I would like, but will attempt to give you a "bird's eye view" of the situation as a whole. I assure you, however, that everything I have to say can be easily substantiated with plenty of evidence to prove it is true.

General Assembly

Every denomination of any size in America today is plagued by a deadly disease called liberalism, and our Southern Presbyterian Church is no exception. Our Church for a number of years has been, and is at the present time, divided between two groups that can be generally classified as Conservatives and Liberals. Basically our Church is a conservative Church in its Doctrines, Standards, and Programs. As I have traveled over our Assembly during recent years, I am convinced that at the grassroots our members still hold these conservative views and beliefs. However, some of the leadership of our Church in the General Assemblies, and in various Boards and Agencies, have reflected the more liberal views and program in recent years.

This can be seen in the fact that for a number of years various General Assemblies approved a number of reports and steps which would help to bring about an organic union with the Northern

† An address delivered to Presbyterian Groups in Memphis, Tenn., and Jackson, Miss., January, 1958.

Presbyterian Church, finally approving an actual Plan of Union. The pro-union group claimed that the actions taken by these General Assemblies represented the views and desires of the Church as a whole. However, when this Plan of Union was sent down to the Presbyteries, a majority of the Presbyteries voted against the proposed Plan of Union. The General Assembly also approved the ordination of women as elders in our Church. This was also defeated by a majority vote of the Presbyteries. The 1954 General Assembly approved a report submitted by the Christian Relations Committee, which praised the Supreme Court's decision on segregation, and called upon the members of the Church to help bring about integration of the races, in the local churches, conferences, church colleges, public schools and the community as a whole. This action probably raised more bitterness and division in our Church than any other one thing in many years. The four years that have passed, since this action was taken, have demonstrated that this action of the General Assembly did not truly reflect the views and convictions of the overwhelming majority of the members of our Church on this important matter.

These, and other actions of recent General Assemblies, have convinced many members of our Church that the General Assembly is controlled, and dominated, by the liberal element in our Church and has ceased to truly represent the views and desires of the Church as a whole. This has also tended to cause a loss of respect for, and confidence in, the highest court of our Church which it should have among the membership of the Church. This control of the General Assembly is possible because the average layman who attends the Assembly as a Commissioner usually only goes once in a lifetime, he knows little about the workings of the Assembly, is poorly informed and hesitates to get up on the floor of the Assembly to oppose things which he disapproves of, as he might be embarrassed by not showing a proper understanding of the matter being considered. On the other hand, the heads of our va-

rious boards and agencies, as well as many of the influential ministers of the Church, serving on the various Boards and Committees, attend regularly and know the workings of the Assembly inside out. Such a situation *naturally brings about a form of ecclesiastical control of the Assembly by a small group*, and enables them to get just about anything they want approved by the Assembly. . . .

National Council of Churches

In order to promote their program and to accomplish their objectives, the liberals in all of the denominations organized the old Federal Council of Churches which in 1950, after reaching such a low ebb in the lack of respect and confidence of the general public, changed its name to the National Council of Churches in order to live down its bad reputation. However, this was only a face-saving front because the only thing that was changed was the name; it continued with its same old activities and programs, even enlarging them in many ways.

The leadership of the National Council of Churches is composed mainly of the most extreme, liberal, social gospel ministers of all the denominations which make up its membership. They have, on some of their main committees, certain laymen who are recognized as being among the most liberal, radical crusaders in America. Our membership in the Federal and National Council of Churches has caused much division in the Southern Presbyterian Church. . . .

Since we re-entered the Federal Council in 1941, there have been numerous protests against our Church being a member of this radical organization, and a number of overtures have been sent to the General Assembly asking that we withdraw from it. The situation was so bad that even the 1950 General Assembly adopted a strong resolution presented by Dr. James Sprunt against activities of the Federal Council by a vote of 214 to 114. This resolution stated:

"Inasmuch as the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and its commissioners have from time to time

expressed opinions, issued statements, and advocated policies tending toward political socialism in this country and contrary to our time-honored principles of free enterprise and representative democracy, which this General Assembly believes to be *totally at variance* with the beliefs of our people, we therefore *vigorously dissent* and *completely disassociate* ourselves from any such deliverance or action by the Federal Council."

When the Federal Council of Churches changed its name to the National Council of Churches in 1950, in an attempt to regain the lay members' confidence and support, the leaders established a National Lay Committee for a period of five years, which was to meet with, and advise, the leaders of the National Council concerning their policies and programs. This National Lay Committee, composed of 190 outstanding laymen from many denominations, served from March 28, 1950, to June 30, 1955, then the liberal ministers who composed the top leadership of the National Council allowed it to die because of the opposition of this National Lay Committee, during the five years of the committee's existence, to their radical political, social and economic programs.

This Committee's final report was published in the February 3, 1956, issue of the U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, with a circulation of more than 775,000, under the heading "Laymen and Clergy at Odds on Role of Church in Politics." A group of laymen in the Southern Presbyterian Church, in South Carolina, were so concerned about this matter that they mailed 12,000 reprints of this article to every minister and approximately 8,000 elders in our Church. . . .

J. Howard Pew, chairman of the lay committee and former president of the Sun Oil Company, summed up the disagreement in a letter accompanying his final report to members of the committee as follows:

"Throughout our Committee's term of life, it repeatedly brought to the Council's attention the seriousness of the problems involved in its issuance of controversial statements and studies in the

fields of sociology, economics and politics; and the danger inherent in speaking to official Washington and the United Nations General Assembly in behalf of Protestantism on matters *outside their field* and for which they possessed no mandate.

"We, as lay people, were alarmed and unhappy as the National Council assumed the right to speak on subjects in which it was difficult to see *ethical* or *spiritual content* for the inarticulate and voiceless body called '34 million Protestants' . . .

The majority of the Interchurch Relations Committee, as was expected, recommended to the 1957 General Assembly that we continue our membership in the National Council. However, 4 members of the committee filed a minority report, and I want to read to you a few of the opening paragraphs of this minority report:

Leadership

. . . "Your Committee has been unable to find in its examination of the record of any particular volume of evidence to show that the National Council of Churches has deviated from policies followed by its predecessor, the Federal Council of Churches. Indeed there is a considerable body of evidence to show that the National Council has *broadened the scope* of the old Federal Council and *intensified* many of its policies and programs.

"The *primary reason* so many members of our church are convinced that we should withdraw from the National Council of Churches, is because of the grave difference in doctrinal matters between our Confession of Faith and the practically creedless doctrinal basis of the Council, between what *our church believes*, and what very evidently the leaders of the Council *do not believe*. The theological beliefs of some Council leaders are responsible for their radical economic, social, racial, and political opinions. The off-color views of these leaders on the practical affairs of life are due to off-color theology. What we believe about God and His Son Jesus and

the Bible's teaching about man and his nature affect enormously what we think about our life and its purpose, about history and man's place in it, about our relationship one to another, to property, to money, to race, and to society in general.

"The leadership of an organization determines its character. When the National Council leaders speak, even in their personal writings and utterances, they clearly show what they are trying to accomplish through the National Council.

"*Actually instead of the churches using the National Council to promote their interests, the National Council is using the churches to promote its program. Still more accurately, a handful of extreme liberals are using the Council to promote through the churches their socialistic ideas and programs.* Three basic errors lie at the root of the Council's teaching and activities and threaten the very foundations of our Church and State, namely:

1. Its unscriptural political activity that violates the separation of Church and State.
2. Its unscriptural social principle that undermines our social life and national peace and safety.
3. Its un-American economic program that threatens our system of free enterprise."

Christian Relations Division

Those of us who have studied the history and activities of the Christian Relations Division in our Church are convinced that it has been established by the liberals in our Church *for one purpose*, and that is, that it might be a *channel through which they can bring* the radical objectives and programs of the National Council of Churches into our Church through its reports to the General Assembly, and working through the various Boards and agencies of our Church. . . .

The Christian Relations report to the 1954 General Assembly, THE CHURCH AND SEGREGATION, really shocked the members of our Church and woke

them up to the activities of this Committee which had been established in our Church. In this report, they declared that segregation of the races was un-Christian, praised the Supreme Court for its decision which declared segregated schools unconstitutional, and called upon the members of the Southern Presbyterian Church to eliminate segregation of the races in the local churches, church conferences, church colleges, and to help eliminate it in the public schools and the community life as a whole. When the General Assembly of 1954 approved this report, this action caused more bitterness and division in our Church than any other action in recent years. . . .

The fact that the Division of Christian Relations is a *propaganda mouth-piece* for radical individuals and groups outside of our Church, who are attempting to use the prestige and influence of our General Assembly to promote their cause and programs, was clearly shown two years ago when the Fund for the Republic gave this agency a gift of \$15,000 "for educational work in racial and cultural relations" along the lines promoted by this tax-exempt Foundation, which is complete integration of the races in the community, schools and the churches. The Fund for the Republic has given over \$1,000,000 to the NAACP and other race mixing organizations to accomplish this purpose.

The Fund for the Republic has been denounced by the House un-American Committee, the Reece Committee of the House of Representatives, and the American Legion as being one of the most radical tax-exempt foundations in America. . . .

I would like to point out the following things in the Christian Relations Report of last year's General Assembly to show you how outside groups and organizations are using this means of promoting their radical programs in our Church.

One section of this report defends the Koinonia Farm inter-racial experiment near Americus, Ga., which is one of the most radical and controversial integration experiments in America today.

This report states that the members of this organization, Koinonia Farms, have professed their allegiance to this country, have denied affiliation in any subversive party, have violated no laws and that they have been model citizens. It also criticizes the Protestants of Americus, Ga., for trying to destroy this organization. However, several weeks before this report was submitted to the General Assembly, a 23-man Grand Jury report of its investigation of the Koinonia Farms Inc. was made public. This Grand Jury report stated that "We find Koinonia Farms Inc., while purporting to be a religious organization, is in fact a corporation which prefers to use the name Koinonia Community (or Koinonia Farm) in its dealing with the outside public. It has no affiliation with any Church or religious group of any nature and while they are chartered as a Christian organization, we find its claim to Christianity is sheer window dressing and its practice of Christianity has no precedent in the religious annals of the United States." . . .

The Grand Jury also pointed out in its findings that Koinonia has "close friends among known Communists and have entertained known Communists who have visited the Farm." Farm members reportedly testified under oath that they would welcome communists into their community and corporation, that it was their policy to accept or do business with any individual without any inquiry into the character of the individual or any concern as to his loyalty to the government of the United States." . . .

The *Christian Century*, which is the recognized liberal mouthpiece in America, says:

"The Presbyterian Church, U.S., was the first American denomination to commend the Supreme Court for its 1954 decision outlawing racial segregation in public education. It has never taken a backward step from that action, and its Birmingham action went far beyond it (*Outlook*, April 29, May 13). Its sweeping indictment of all forms of racial segregation is one of the *strongest statements on this issue ever issued by any American church, Southern or Northern.*"

You know, as well as I do, that this statement and impression which has been given to the general public is *absolutely false* as far as being a *true expression* of the views and convictions of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Southern Presbyterian Church regarding segregation.

One section of last year's Christian Relations report is credited as having been taken from the January 1957 report on RIGHTS by the *Anti-Defamation League*. This is another one of the most radical organizations in America, a Jewish organization which works closely with the NAACP and the National Council of Churches. Listen to a statement from the 1951 report of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League on their activities, "We believe that early attitudes of hostility are often firmly planted *through Christian teachings* which perpetuate historical inaccuracies about Jews and Judaism. *Such teachings can, and have been altered* as religious leaders and educators have developed new insights into this problem. *Through the newly created Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches, the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League will jointly have an unprecedented opportunity to aid in the preparation of lesson materials, study guides, audiovisual aides, etc., for use in education activities sponsored by the Protestant Churches and organizations.*"

Can you conceive of a Jewish organization, which doesn't accept the New Testament and does not believe in Christianity, aiding in the preparation of lesson material, study guides and films for educational use in Protestant Churches? Neither can I, but here is a section in the 1957 Christian Relations report which was approved by our General Assembly, which is credited as having been taken word for word from a report of the *Anti-Defamation League*. . . .

You say such a thing can't happen in our Church. *Well, it is happening in our Church, and the groundwork is being laid here, and you and I should do everything we can to get the members of our*

Church aroused, the Commissioners to the coming General Assembly informed, and to *completely abolish* the Division of Christian Relations.

I might add here that the Northern Presbyterian Church has a Social Education and Action Department which has not only brought all of the issues I have just named into the Northern Presbyterian Church but about a year ago *used Church funds* to pay the \$10,000.00 fine of the Sumter, S. C. branch of the NAACP which had been sued for libel, on the grounds that one of its 11 officials was a Negro Presbyterian minister. This was a real shock to many people when it was published. . . .

Another matter of concern is the *social gospel emphasis and liberal programs* being sponsored through the *Women's work of our Church*. The suggested programs of study last year were largely social studies, and many churches refused to use them. During the past year much propaganda for integration was carried on through the materials and conferences. I have here reprints of an article from the January 15th issue of the *Southern Presbyterian Journal* on one of the main speakers at the Women's conference at Montreat last summer, Dr. James H. Robinson, the Negro pastor of an inter-racial church in New York City, and a former Director of Youth Work for the NAACP. He also has been connected in various ways with a large number of Communist front organizations. You will be shocked when you read about the type speakers they are having on the Women of the Church programs. . . .

In closing I would like to make several suggestions as to what you and I as individuals can do about these matters.

The first thing we should do, is to be interested and concerned about these things, to take the necessary time to get informed ourselves, and then to do all that we can to get the other officers and members of our Church informed, interested and concerned. The *main reason* that these things are happening in our Church is because the majority of the members of the Church *are ignorant of them*. . . .

I am personally encouraged by the way the laymen in our Church are waking up and are showing an inclination to want to help bring our Church back to our Standards wherever it is necessary, and to hold fast to our Standards in the future. This meeting tonight is an indication of this interest, concern and desire on the part of many laymen in our Church. . . .

I want to commend the laymen's group here in Memphis Presbytery and Central Mississippi Presbytery for the fine work they are doing in getting the members of the Church informed about these things. They have *capable, responsible leadership* and I urge you to join with them, and support their efforts with your prayers, influence, and active participation in their work.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The foregoing quotes are from one of the finest, most comprehensive messages ever delivered on the subject that is disturbing the hearts and souls of Christian peoples everywhere. Every Christian should have the full text of this message; it will be of unlimited help in refuting the social and political programs being carried on in all our churches. Contact Mr. Russ M. Johnson, P.O. Box 1200, Jackson, Miss., sending postage to cover. These Presbyterian laymen do not have access to the 7 and 1/2 billion dollar tax exempt foundation funds.

ON TEACHING CHILDREN

Some critics of our South make great capital of the fact that segregation is not inherently sought by white children, but a thing taught them by their elders. And that is true. We do have to teach them to wash behind their ears, and not to play with matches, and not to do anything toward integration of white and Negro races. Else we are not doing our duty by the children whose training for life is our responsibility. But what else does it prove?

Did You Know That . . .

THE BAPTIST Sunday School Board plans the early construction of a \$4,000,000.00 building, two blocks long, to house its Nashville, Tenn., operations departments.

CHRISTIAN COMMON SENSE IN RACE RELATIONS†

By THE REV. DR. CHARLES M. CROWE
Wilmette, Illinois

THE EXPLOSIVE Negro-white race-relations issue in the United States was brought to a head by the aftermaths of the Supreme Court decision. This has served useful purpose of bringing the whole matter into the open. But in any such tense situation, the temptation and danger is always present to go to extremes. And it is the extremists that too often precipitate trouble and create absurd and unwarranted situations.

For instance, the New York City public schools were forced to drop "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn," from their approved reading list. The ban was ordered because of Negro protests that the book is "racially offensive."

The absurdity of this position is seen in the fact that the author, Samuel Clemens, often went far out of his way to help the Negro people. He paid the way of two Negro students through college and recommended to President Garfield that a Negro be appointed marshal of the District of Columbia. His biographer says that Clemens would many times inconvenience himself to speak to Negro groups when he would refuse to speak before white audiences. On one occasion in Elmira, Clemens received a request to speak to a church. The invitation was poorly worded and he was about to turn it down. Then Mrs. Clemens told him that it was a Negro church. Mark Twain's attitude changed completely. So much so that his wife said to him, "Sam, I will give you a motto . . . Consider every man colored until he is proved white!" Sam would turn in his grave if he knew that

† The sermon reprinted above was delivered February 9, 1958, by the Rev. Dr. Crowe, who is Pastor of the Wilmette Parish Methodist Church. He spoke from the text—"You yourselves have been taught by God to love one another . . . But we exhort you to do so more and more, to aspire to live quietly, to mind your own affairs . . . so that you may command the respect of outsiders, and be dependent on nobody." I Thessalonians 4:9b, 10b, 11a, 12 (Revised Standard Version).

one of his books was banned because it was "racially offensive!"

So it is that a situation has been created in this country that no matter what your intentions may be, whatever anyone says or does is very likely to be misinterpreted. One of our most important assets, therefore, is plain commonsense. This would be a calm, level-headed attitude of patient concern keyed both to the Christian ideal of human brotherhood and the law of our democracy that guarantees equal rights to all citizens. Such a position does not try to straddle nor avoid the issue but to find real solutions.

A good place to begin is to recognize the great progress the Negro has made in this country in recent years. In spite of discrimination and segregation, the fact remains that the Negro enjoys more freedom of opportunity and a higher standard of living in the United States than in any other country on earth. Our press and many of our church leaders are constantly playing up the terrible plight of the Negro in America. In so doing they are simply reenforcing the Communist propaganda in other countries which falsely paints the race issue in this country in nothing but the blackest terms. Without glossing over or excusing the ugly facts which hit the headlines, it is simply Christian commonsense to spotlight the good as well as to deplore the bad. And there is a vast amount of good in the balance sheet. We ought to see that the world knows about it.

We should not forget, and our foreign critics should not be allowed to forget, that Negroes were held in slavery in the United States less than a hundred years ago. This is not true of any other country which boasts of racial equality. And in no other country has any minority group come further faster. Said Negro publisher John H. Johnson: "Every Negro is a Horatio Alger . . . His trek up from slavery is the greatest success story the world has ever known." Let's look at it today.

Negro's Economic Progress

It is the story of economic progress. The Negro wage earner makes more than four times as much as in 1940, compared

to the white wage earner's 2 1/2 times as much. Many important companies employ Negro personnel who work side by side with whites. These include banks, bus companies, department stores, factories. Today over 12% of all U.S. industrial workers are Negroes, twice as many as in 1940, with the number of skilled workers and foremen steadily increasing. Over two million Negroes belong to trade unions. Home ownership among Negroes is increasing at a higher rate than among whites. About one-third of Negroes now own the homes they live in.

It is the story of progress in citizenship. The right to vote has been established in nearly all Southern states. Justice before the courts is now generally taken for granted. Lynching is a thing of the past. And many test cases of Negro rights have been interpreted favorably simply on the basis of the Constitution rather than by the passage of new laws. Also, the integration of troops in the armed services has proved that Negroes and whites can work side by side for their country. Moreover, the Negro is devotedly religious. And he enjoys too much freedom and opportunity to better himself in America, than to let himself be taken in by Communism. No more than 1400 Negro Americans ever belonged to the Communist party at one time.

It is the story of progress in the arts, professions, sports and government. Many of our outstanding actors and singers are Negroes, with Marian Anderson being the first one of her race to join the Metropolitan Opera. Frank Yerby's historical novels have sold more than 11 million copies, the most widely known being *Foxes of Harrow*. Ralph Bunche is Under Secretary of United Nations, president of the American Political Science Association and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. Percy Julian has attained eminence in science. In sports, it was only in 1945 that Jackie Robinson was admitted to the ranks of professional baseball. Today there are more than two dozen regulars in the big leagues. And in 1957 Henry Aaron was voted the most valuable player in the National league,

Jim Pace the most valuable football player in the Big Ten; Althea Gibson was recognized the top woman tennis player, and Wilt Chamberlain of Kansas the greatest basketball player in the country.

It is the story of progress in education. The headlines have been focused on the unpleasant incidents at Clinton, Tenn. and Little Rock, Ark. But we need to remember that these situations are only a small segment of the total picture and that they were forced by the misguided action of rabble-rousers. We need to know, too, that in spite of continued and bitterly held lines of school segregation in some few sections, that hundreds of thousands of Negroes are accepted in public schools with whites in the greater part of the country. And that thousands of Negroes are enrolled in colleges and universities and graduate schools in most sections of the nation.

The story is not complete yet, to be sure. For there are many areas, particularly in matters of housing and social equality, in which discrimination and prejudice hold sway against the Negro. And these will be the hardest to overcome. But the over-all story is a thrilling one, unmatched in history, and has set a course that cannot be stopped.

Answer to Nehru's Question

Yet we are repeatedly told by some political and church leaders that the plight of the Negro in the United States is the chief reason why the people of Europe and Asia lean toward Communism instead of the West. Prime Minister Nehru of India said that he is repeatedly asked: "What guarantee do we have, if we side with the Western world, instead of with Russia, that we won't eventually be treated as Negroes are treated in the United States?" The simple answer is, of course, that the record itself shows that Negroes in the U.S. even with the discrimination and segregation that still exists, are far better off in every way than the mass of the people of India. And that is the real test.

Rosa Page Welch, Negro singer of Chicago, made a seven month good will tour of Africa and Asia in 1953, spon-

sored by Protestant church groups. Upon her return she said that Communist propaganda has kept the people from knowing the truth about American Negroes. When she told various groups abroad the facts about the achievements and real status of Negroes in this country they were amazed and could hardly believe her. More good will missions like that probably would do more for the cause of peace than money for missiles or political conferences.

England and Europe No Utopias

As for England and Europe, we are often told that those areas are Utopias for Negroes. This is simply not so. For, in spite of a surface racial equality for Negro celebrities and intellectuals, there is in those countries a deep strain of prejudice and discrimination against the native born Negro. Roi Ottley the Negro author, travelled in 22 countries of Europe in search of material for a book. He intended to portray the spectacular liberalism of Europe toward the Negroes as compared with the U.S. He was completely disenchanted with what he found. So much so that his book, *No Green Pastures*, completely reversed his original idea, and became instead an expose of the actual shabby economic and social conditions of Negroes in England and the continent.

Segregation in Russia

As for the Soviet Union, the Russians practice segregation in the schools, in spite of their severe denunciation of the United States on this point. Their hypocrisy was revealed in a report by Robert P. Kennedy, counsel for the Senate investigating committee, after visiting the central Asian region of the USSR. Very few Americans ever go to this section of Russia which is larger than Western Europe and has a population of 20 millions. Said Mr. Kennedy: "In every city we visited in central Asia the schools were segregated - the Russian school children in one school, the local children in another." It seems that the 'local' children are of Mongolian descent, and therefore dark skinned.

All of this is to say that racial prejudice in one form or another is world wide. Far from having a monopoly on it, according to Communist lies, we need to declare by our words and acts before the nations that the United States, under the inspiration of the Christian spirit, actually is leading the world in the realization of the ancient dream of a brotherly society. If race conditions are so terrible in the United States how is it that countless Negroes and other racial groups abroad are clamoring to come to this country? And why is it we do not hear of many American Negroes who are leaving America to live?

We must spotlight our gains and be glad for them. But also we must address ourselves earnestly to the greater problem of handling our prejudices, passions and fears that underlie our failures. And our failures are many and well known. This will take a lot of Christian common sense to go with our Christian idealism. And this on the part of both Negroes and whites, for Christian race relations is a two-way street. Negro leaders and groups such as the NAACP could advance their cause more effectively by concentrating on the development of their own people instead of forcing test cases which only serve to magnify and intensify the problem. White leaders interested in better race relations must beware of an attitude of condescension. It makes us feel good to live in protected all-white communities and beat the drums for integration and tolerance. Norman Ross Jr. tells of a time when his father refused to allow him to bring a Negro boy to the opera. Years later the father explained why: "You weren't really being tolerant of that Negro boy. You were patronizing him. Next to being bigoted and intolerant, I can't think of anything worse, if I were a Negro, than to be patronized, to have people enjoy being kind to me - not because of me, but because of the boost it gave their ego, because of their pride, their self-righteousness."

So it is that crusaders in this field sometimes become so dogmatic and lopsided in their concern that they actually

violate their Christian ideals of love and compassion for those who differ with them. It is possible to lose our own Christian spirit and faith when we try to look after everybody else's business except our own. Those who plead for tolerance need to be careful lest they themselves become intolerant with those who disagree with them. We need to know that the Negro himself should not be forced into situations not of his own choosing. Freedom to integrate does not mean that integration is desirable or wanted by the majority of Negroes themselves. Nor is it alone a panacea. This goes for schools and churches and housing areas. This is a free country and no law can compel people to go to a given school or live in a certain area or go to a given church, white or black. This for the simple reason that people can move. And that is exactly what they do, both Negro and white. It has been said that the conditions on the South side of Chicago exist because Negroes can't move. But they have moved into the best areas of the South side and there is where the worst slums are now. Several brave attempts have been made to integrate church congregations in mixed communities. The usual result is for the church in time to turn either white or Negro as the neighborhood changes. It is hard for some white religious leaders to realize that Negroes often prefer their own churches and residential neighborhoods. At least we hear of little agitation among Negroes for white people to move into Negro areas. It is questionable if they would be welcome.

What is needed and desired is for all our citizens to be regarded by all others as created by God, of infinite value and worth, with equal opportunities, rights, privileges and freedoms to develop themselves to the best of their abilities.

What Negroes Need To Realize

Negro and white Americans and Christians will all make faster progress by going slowly, by keeping our tempers, and by both groups recognizing their own responsibilities. Better race relations grow out of a developing sense of good-

will, without fanfare, riots or headlines. Negroes need to realize that they win their way best as free citizens as do all free citizens, on the solid ground of worth and achievement, education, character and citizenship. And that first class citizenship carries responsibilities as well as privileges. Nothing is gained by being touchy, and keeping chips on shoulders or by violence and forced issues on either side. Indeed, the scattered acts of violence in connection with public school integration set back the cause of better race relations many years. Much valuable ground is lost and nothing gained by those extremists and crusaders on both sides who want to settle the issue at once by law, or by taking the law into their own hands. This is disastrous. Christian common sense refuses to jeopardize the true brotherly spirit by the arbitrary inflammatory actions of zealots. This is a law-abiding country and in time the Supreme decision will be recognized throughout the land. But great patience and much time and education are needed if this is to be done. It is easy for white people living in a white community in the North to criticize the reluctance of people in the South in this matter. But their ideas might change if they themselves lived in towns where they were outnumbered ten to one by Negroes. High sounding glib pronouncements about Christian race relations is one thing. Knowing what is the Christian thing to do in specific situations is something else.

Segregation And Discrimination In The North

It needs to be said quite frankly in this connection that there is as much prejudice, segregation and discrimination in many sections of the North against the Negro as in many sections of the South. And many Negroes who had a good life in the South, in spite of what anyone may think, have moved to the ghettos of Harlem or the South side of Chicago only to be bitterly disillusioned. When 30,000 Negroes a year move into Chicago it is they themselves that thus create intolerable situations. It will take

more than integration to solve that problem. And, it needs to be said that Negro landlords, Negro building inspectors, and Negro tenants bear a full share of responsibility for slum conditions. In all of this it is heartening to know that many Christian leaders in the South have held steadily to the Christian ideal of first class citizenship for Negroes and whites and realize that this ideal does not imply intermarriage.

Christian brotherhood dictates that hatred and scorn and contempt of others because of race or creed or color can never be justified. But Christian commonsense is needed in carrying this out. The Race problem in the U.S. is acute but it can be solved, and the solution lies within the framework of a free society under inspiration of the Christian gospel. It is true that God made us all of one blood. There is no superior or inferior race or people in God's sight. But God did make people different, too. There are blacks and whites. And there are all kinds of blacks and all kinds of whites. In as heterogeneous nation as this and with as complex a problem as this it is important to realize that progress will be made only as we allow for many variables. And only as we conduct ourselves on the basis of the Christian spirit of mutual understanding, consideration, forbearance, justice, goodwill and helpfulness in the interests of our nation and the Kingdom of God.

Did You Know That . . .

MINISTERIAL Associations in many southern cities have become interracial; Nashville, Daytona Beach, Louisville, Asheville, Greensboro and High Point. In Selma, Alabama the "Leadership is equally shared." "For the next few years it has been agreed that the president be a white man in order to facilitate contacts with officialdom until we are established. The vice president and treasurer are Negroes."

I might not be interested in what you say . . . but I am interested in what prompted you in saying it.

HOW LONG, OH LORD . . . HOW LONG!

DR. PETER MARSHALL preached many wonderful sermons, led many to the saving Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. But to me the most timely, the most forceful, the most power packed was the **KEEPERS OF THE SPRINGS**. He packed into this sermon the everlasting truths of the teachings of our Lord and Saviour . . . "Watching him pack his threescore years and ten into a scant forty-six." Let's refresh our memories a bit, right here, then get the entire sermon and re-study. Men carve out the roads of life, but women lead the little children in them.

"There has never been a time when there was a greater need for Keepers of the Springs, or when there were more polluted springs to be cleansed. If the home fails, the country is doomed. The breakdown of home life and influence will mark the breakdown of a nation. If the Keepers of the Springs desert their posts or are unfaithful to their responsibilities, the future outlook of this country is black indeed . . . When He (Jesus) grew up and began to teach the way of life, He ushered woman into a new place in human relations. He accorded her a new dignity and crowned her with a new glory, so that wherever the Christian evangel has gone for nineteen centuries, the daughter of Mary has been respected . . . revered . . . remembered . . . and loved, for men have recognized that womanhood is a sacred and noble thing, that women are of finer clay . . . are more in touch with the angels of God and have the noblest function that life affords. Wherever Christianity has spread, for nineteen hundred years, men have bowed and adored. It remained for the twentieth century, in the name of progress in the name of tolerance . . . in the name of broadmindedness . . . in the name of freedom . . . to pull her down from her throne and try to make her like a man. She wanted equality. For nineteen hundred years she had not been equal . . . she had been superior. But now, they said, she wanted equality,

and in order to obtain it, she had to step down. And so it is, that in the name of broadminded tolerance a man's vices have now become a woman's. Twentieth century tolerance has won for woman the right to become intoxicated . . . the right to have an alcoholic breath . . . the right to smoke . . . to work like a man . . . to act like a man . . . for is she not man's equal? . . . Today they call it "progress" . . . No nation has ever made any progress in a downward direction. No people became great by lowering their standards. No people ever became good by adopting a looser morality . . . The modern challenge to motherhood is the eternal challenge . . . that of being godly women. The very phrase sounds strange in our ears. We never hear it now. We hear about every other kind of women . . . beautiful women . . . smart women . . . sophisticated women . . . career women . . . talented women . . . divorced women, but so seldom do we hear of a godly woman . . . or godly man either, for that matter . . . It is a much nobler thing to be a good wife than to be Miss America . . . We need women, and men too, who would rather be morally right than socially correct . . . And I seem to see our Saviour . . . with arms full of children of far-away Judea . . . saying to that mother and to all mothers . . . the old invitation so much needed in these times: "Suffer the little children to come unto Me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of God."

I believe that this generation of young people has courage enough to face the challenging future . . . I believe that they have the same bravery and the same devotion to things worthwhile that their grandmothers had. I have every confidence that they are anxious to preserve the best of our heritage, and God knows if we lose it here in this country, it is forever gone. I believe that the women of today will not be unmindful of their responsibilities; that is why I have dared to speak so honestly. "Keepers of the Springs, we salute you!"

NOTE: From "Mr. Jones, Meet the Master," sermons and prayers of Peter Marshall, Fleming H. Revell Company.

NOTHING PERSONAL, but LET'S HAVE A LOOK

By DEAN FLEMING, Secretary

Thackeray said "THE WORLD IS A LOOKING GLASS AND GIVES BACK TO EVERY MAN THE REFLECTION OF HIS OWN FACE."

Sixteen, or sixty-six . . . it's about time you took a look at yourself. If you are waiting for George to do it . . . take a look . . . you might be George.

Since the dawn of recorded history man has had a tendency to run away from life, to try and escape his moral responsibilities. He has always been ready to make excuses for his weakness, but never before in recorded history has a nation of people been provided with a set of *planned or ready-made* excuses to help him escape his moral responsibility, his shortcomings and weakness.

To teach a man that he is helpless . . . it's inevitable, why fight it . . . that he is a helpless victim of a heartless environment is encouraging him to blame everything but himself for his difficulties, and those of his beloved country. (or does he really love his country?) For the past thirty years men have been educated in the belief that weakness of character and personality is due completely to bad housing conditions; that crime and poverty is the result of segregating races of people and therefore their hope for a better life is not in changing themselves but in changing the social system; that security depends upon conditions outside themselves . . . a wet-nurse government with all manner of AID programs.

Such teaching is eating out the very core of this country for if you destroy the individual . . . you destroy the nation. Some people, unless they change themselves, would be misfits in any social system. As long as any individual refuses to accept his personal share of responsibility for the kind of world he lives in, there can never be any hope for a better life for him, his race or the nation. Running away from personal responsibility has weakened the character of multitudes of people of all races and suddenly they

find themselves unable to face life's inevitables which cannot be escaped. Then, in his confused state, he turns to the government to supply his needs, and in a fashion turns his back on God, never realizing that however much a man may depend upon a government to supply his physical needs, he still has a greater responsibility he must face alone. He must live with himself; no escaping that.

In facing the inescapables of life, Jesus revealed Himself as the supreme master that He was. He never ran away from anything. He evaded no issue . . . he straddled no fences . . . he turned to no government.

Yet millions of people who call themselves Christians today, followers of the Divine Son of God, seemingly are afraid to take a stand . . . for business reasons . . . political reasons . . . social reasons. And "political expediency" has been overworked.

SO IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE†

ANYONE WHO thinks communism in the United States no longer constitutes a serious menace should consider that at this moment on American soil are the equivalent of 20 combat divisions of enemy troops engaging in propaganda, espionage, subversion, and loyal only to the Soviet Union.

A prominent American jurist once observed that if the American people saw this horde wearing the uniform of a foreign power and moving freely in their midst, they would immediately voice great alarm. The alarm should not be less if the uniform clothes the mind instead of the body . . .

The investigations and public hearings that we have conducted across the country have disclosed:

1. A mammoth nationwide campaign of political subversion designed to paralyze the security programs of the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government;

† Quoted from the foreword of COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES report released January 2, 1957.

IS CLASS JUDGMENT COMMON SENSE?

SHALL WE judge by class membership? If so, by what class? The Equalist holds that we should judge by not the species but the smallest genetical group to which the individual is known to belong as revealed by color and other natural correlated signs. What one judges physically and casually is the neutral response pattern of integrated ideas, to which natural signs are reasonable guides.

The equalist says Judge not lest you be judged; varieties within a species must be ignored.

Are there classes also or only individuals? Physically and casually, there are only individuals. But the question remains, are classifications of similars helpful guides to desired goals? They are helpful.

Names associated with love but unassociated with quality and causality are dangerous guides.

If it were not true, it would be incredible that the equalist could persuade Christians not to trust their eyes.

Judging an individual by his group, class membership, is denounced by the equalist as prejudice. Yet it is the common sense method of dealing with the many. Propagandists endeavor to persuade whites to abandon it and to deal with each individual as if they had never met one of that kind before.

Equalism is the verbal strategy of the inferior to escape judgment formed by prior experience with others of his kind. Equalism outlaws likeness and probability as social guides in favor of absolute "slogans."

That all men are of equal social worth is a fiction pleasing to the inferior. Many human beings are not only social liabilities but also are more likely than others to beget social liabilities.

Do not be a word-ruled fool. In so far as you can, consider the physical nature of the individual with whom you are dealing. Visible qualities are sometimes correlated with invisible qualities, such as color of skin, shape of the head, and structure of the hair.

-COPIED

2. The curious posture of a major United States "educational" foundation, the Fund of the Republic, Inc., some of whose practices have provided great aid and comfort to the Communist apparatus, particularly in the vital area of mass communications and entertainment;

3. The extensive use of American passports by the Communist conspiracy as a basic means of moving subversive agents in and out of the United States and other countries of the free world;

4. The identity of four other agencies of the Federal Government in which Communist Party underground cells operated during the 1940's;

5. The treasonable activities of American citizens in a SAVE OUR SONS COMMITTEE established to disseminate Communist propaganda among American prisoners of war in Korea and their families in the United States;

6. The efforts of the Communist Party to expand their operations in Connecticut, North Carolina, and the west coast through colonization of basic industries in those areas, proselytization of youth students, and organization of large numbers of non-Communists for political action of benefit only to the Communist Party;

7. A concerted international propaganda operation to lure refugees and defectors back to the slave-camp homelands from which they had fled. End of quote.

And the average "man on the street" will tell you IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE. Write your congressman for a copy of the report on UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE. And did you know there is proposed legislation by a group of congressmen . . . that would do away with this congressional committee? Remember just one thing . . . "AMERICA WILL NEVER BE THE HOME OF THE FREE UNTIL IT BECOMES THE LAND OF THE BRAVE."

Write your congressman about the 1958 Civil Rights Bill; ask him to send you a copy. Discuss this with your minister and church leaders.

RACE RELATIONS—RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

By HON. FRANK CARLSON*

MR. CARLSON: Mr. President, the American Baptist Convention held its annual meeting in Philadelphia, Pa., beginning June 4, 1957.

The American Baptist Convention, which embraces 1,600,000 members, passed resolutions dealing with denominational affairs, interdenominational affairs, national affairs, and international relations.

I would like to call the Senate's attention to the resolution dealing with race relations, which was passed by practically a unanimous vote. This resolution stresses "that membership in each Baptist Church shall be open to all people of its community regardless of their race or national origin."

It calls upon the Baptist Churches to join with other churches to demonstrate interracial understanding and shatter the illusions that engender fear between races.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Race Relations

To speak on relations between the races is a mandate to American Baptists assembled in our 50th anniversary sessions. To remain silent now would be to confine in prison the love of God and His people that motivate us.

Our convictions demand that we speak, because we believe that God has made all men in His image, and therefore all men have equal rights.

Our history demands that we speak, for our missionary investment of prayer and money in behalf of minority peoples in America is one of our major investments.

* This excerpt is from an extension of remarks of Senator Carlson (R-Kan.) in the United States Senate.

Our fellowship demands that we speak, because millions of Negro Americans and other minority peoples are not only our brothers in Jesus Christ, but are also members of the same family of Christian faith in Baptist churches.

Our consciences demand that we speak, for we know that alienation from any of God's people is a sin that alienates us from Him.

Our faith demands that we speak, because we believe that men can be reconciled to each other as they are reconciled to God through faith in Jesus Christ.

Because we accept these facts we dedicate ourselves to the following objectives:

1. That membership in each Baptist Church shall be open to all people of its community regardless of their race or national origin.

2. That each church shall choose its minister on the basis of character and ability without regard to racial background.

3. That each church shall work to assure equality for all people in education, employment, housing, and political activity.

4. That members of our churches shall base their fellowship with others on individual merit without regard to racial origins.

5. That we shall not aline ourselves with any organized group or movement that works to retain segregation whether in country clubs, sororities, fraternities, service clubs, organizations of property owners, the Ku Klux Klan, White Citizen's Councils, and all exclusive groups that deny membership to others on the basis of race.

6. That each Baptist organization, school, home, and hospital shall follow practices that are consistent with clear policies of racial nondiscrimination.

As some measures to implement these objectives we recommend:

1. That, in the Baptist Jubilee Advance, in which we shall join with other Baptist bodies in North America for a concerted advance in evangelism and other areas of Christian activity between

1959 and 1964 (a) we shall make it clear that true evangelism results in fellowship that knows no racial barriers in our churches, our homes, our work, our schools, our recreation, and in our neighborhoods as we enjoy equal opportunities to establish our homes where we choose; and (b) we shall make full use of this opportunity to work with leaders of the Baptist Federation of Canada, Baptist General Conference of America, National Baptist Convention of America, National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., North American Baptist General Conference, Southern Baptist Convention, in an evangelistic outreach that gives practical expression to the objectives outlined above.

2. That we express to the Congress of the United States our concern that the proposed observance of the 100th anniversary of the Civil War should be an occasion to rejoice in 100 years of growth in unity as a nation of people who are free and equal before God.

In conclusion, we call upon our Baptist churches to join with other churches to demonstrate interracial understanding and shatter the illusions that engender fear between races. Beyond the present battles over race we envisage an era of harmony, coming in response to the prayers, the thinking, and the Christlike living of many people.

A SERIOUS PROBLEM

(The following are extracts from a lecture delivered in Richmond, Va., June 5, 1956, by G. L. White before the Ladies Night Meeting of the Torch Club.)

SEGREGATION is a serious problem. I would say that it is about No. 3. The first is "Where to Park," and the second "How to Reduce."

Our forefathers . . . found a people living here — primitive people — savages, if you please. Did they say, now these people are just as good as we are; they are all God's children. We must take them into our hearts and homes; we must live and mingle with them and intermarry with them because they are just as good as we are! They did not!

They said these people are savages — they are scarcely human! They've got nothing to offer us in the way of culture, refinement or education. We want no part of them, and in fact the sooner we eliminate them, the better off we will be, and so they just about did just that. What was the result? Well we think they laid the foundation for a pretty good civilization.

Now compare this with what happened in South American countries. The early settlers there apparently did just about the opposite of what our forefathers thought was the proper course. And what has been the result? The result is that in South American countries today, only about 10% of the population is white. The remaining 90% is a conglomeration of everything, and the status that South American countries occupy in education, culture, inventions, and the refinements of society, as compared with our country or most European countries, is that of vast mediocrity — just about what is to be expected from a mongrel population in any branch of the animal world.

In our cities with only 20% Negro population, and the percentage is constantly increasing, we find 2 out of 3 murders are committed by Negroes; half the robberies are by Negroes; 5 out of 6 narcotic arrests are Negroes, and 75% of city and county aid cases are Negroes. In Richmond it is a little better. With about 30% Negro population, 68% of aid cases was for Negroes, as of March 1.

The opponents of segregation apparently believe that there should no longer be a white race, a yellow race and a black race, but just one lovely mongrel breed, oozing brotherly love and Christian fellowship. Would it not be wonderful to be just one happy combination of Mahatma Ghandi, Father Divine and Billy Graham?

Of course there are mongrels and will always be, but should we deliberately plan and encourage it?

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UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE REPORT

I HAVE BEFORE me section 1, of the annual report of the COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES for the year 1957, mailed me by the Honorable George Grant, a member of Congress from Alabama. Let me quote from this:

"Communist political subversion, as disclosed by the Committee, presents a danger to the American people equaling that of Soviet satellites and longrange missiles. The Soviet-Union would prefer to achieve its program of success without the physical destruction of its enemies . . . This would be a fulfillment of Lenin's prophecy made at the inception of the international Communist empire; First we will take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands . . .

(The following tactics were formulated by Georgi Dimitrov, at the Lenin school of revolutionary leadership in Moscow . . . and I quote from the Committee report . . .) "As soviet power grows, there will be a greater aversion to Communist parties everywhere. So we must practice the-techniques of withdrawal. Never appear in the foreground; let our friends do our work. We must always remember that one sympathizer is generally worth more than a dozen militant Communists. A university professor, who without being a party member lends himself to the interests of the Soviet Union, is worth more than a hundred men with party cards. A writer of reputation, or a retired general, are worth more than 500 poor devils who don't know any better than to get themselves beaten up by the police. Every man has his value, his merit. The writer who, without being a party member, defends the Soviet Union, the union leader who is outside our ranks but defends Soviet international policy, is worth more than a thousand party members. Those who are not party members or marked as Communists enjoy greater freedom of action. This dissimu-

lated activity which awakes no resistance is much more effective than a frontal attack by the Communists. Our friends must confuse the adversary for us, carry out our main directives, mobilize in favor of our campaign people who do not think as we do, and whom we could never reach. In this tactic we must use everyone who comes near us; and the number grows every day." End of quote. Note: Why do we stand idly by; knowing these facts, and see our children and many of our elders, used as tools to destroy us from within. Discuss these matters with your city and county officials; your minister and educators in your community. **ARISE AMERICA, THROW OFF THE SHACKLES OF SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS AND RETURN TO THE TEACHINGS OF GOD!**

—Dean Fleming.

HISTORICAL NOTE

LEONARD COTTRELL, in his book "The Anvil of Civilization," writes as follows:

"Within Greece itself we can see, first, an invasion of new peoples beginning round about 1900 B.C. . . . At first these people probably remained aloof from the indigenous population, marrying within their own class, and maintaining the purity of their race." . . . "in the poems of Homer, who speaks of 'the fair-haired Achaeans' whom Agamemnon led to Troy. The blond warriors clad in bronze, have long moldered into dust, and we shall have to look far to find their descendants in modern Greece; thirty centuries of intermarriages have shortened their stature, darkened their skins and eyes, so that they are indistinguishable from the rest of the Greek population. Only occasionally in modern Athens one sees a fair-skinned, blue-eyed youth and fancies that so, perhaps, the greaved Achilles looked as he strode towards Hector across the Trojan plain. But it is best not to inquire too closely . . . he is probably a tourist from Lubeck." End of quote. Integrated society destroyed the civilization of Egypt, India, Phoenicia, Carthage, Rome and Greece . . . and it will destroy America!

FOLKS & FACTS†

By JOHN FORD

THE SADDEST day in our history was April 9, 1865, when Gen. Robert Lee had to surrender at Appomattox. The saddest day in history for Northern states may prove to have been September 24, 1957, when at Little Rock they, too, became conquered provinces. States that once were sovereign may now become Departments of a central government. Governors may become local Herods serving at the pleasure of a Rome.

All a mad bee knows how to do is to sting somebody. All a mule knows is to kick. All an army general knows is to use troops and guns and bayonets. Those are "conditioned reflexes;" they are automatic responses to be expected of the three species.

This time it was Southern people who were gun-butted and bayoneted at Little Rock, but those grindings of the Federal boot sent shivers up and down the spines of Northern people who realized for whom the bell tolled. They realize now that "it can happen here" when their time comes.

If the Federal purpose at Little Rock had been merely to accomplish the announced purposes, would a force of ten thousand soldiers have been required? A man does not drive a tack with a sledge hammer unless for some reason he wants to show off his hammer.

This time all of the States are in trouble together. Some of them have not earned our sympathy but, like Winston Churchill, "I'd walk with the devil to the end of the bridge." So now we must make common cause.

The time to fight for a principle is when it is a living issue. That time is now.

What can you do? I'll tell you what I propose to do myself. I hope you will do it better. Let's dig our heels into the ground and refuse to be moved by either threat or promise. Then tell your friends and write to your kinfolks. In forty years of trying, Russian rulers have not been

† Reprinted from *Alabama Rural Electric News*, Vol. 11, No. 10, October 1957.

able to stamp religion out of the hearts of Russian people. In the long, long run the people win, because the people outlive the person.

"All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing!"

Our opportunity is with our people.

CHURCHES ASK WITHDRAWAL OF INVITATION TO HAYS

THE KENNEDY Memorial Baptist Church, RFD, Richton, Mississippi, in regular conference in September, 1957, voted to join with our sister church, Utica Baptist Church, in asking that the Southern Baptist Convention of Mississippi cancel the engagement with Brooks Hays¹ to deliver the address before the Southern Baptist Convention convening in Jackson, for the following reasons:

1. His activity in the Little Rock affair proves positively that he is against what all good Southerners stand for.

2. He is a member of the Northern Baptist Church, Washington, D.C., which is an American Baptist Church and not in unison with us.

3. He acted as a go-between in getting Governor Faubus and the President together in settling the Little Rock affair and because of states rights we think any governor has a right to make his own plans and to make his own dates with our President.

4. We think that we have plenty of true Southern Baptists capable of addressing our state convention and at this time of discord and misunderstanding over the race question we need no agitation.

This done in conference with instructions to the clerk to spread this on the minutes; send a copy to our county paper; send one to the *Baptist Record*.

A. R. MILLER

Pastor & Moderator

¹ Brooks Hays is a board member of The National Conference of Christians and Jews, who state that "NCCJ has always recognized that there can be no color lines. . . ."

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DIGNITY VS. (FREE?) MONEY

By JUDGE ALEX BRANTLEY
Pike County

NO MONEY is free, you either work for it or tax for it. Somebody has to do the work and pay the taxes, regardless of where the money comes from . . . Washington, Montgomery, or Troy.

In my humble opinion it seems to me that the County Officials of these United States are not doing a very good job of trying to preserve the dignity of local self government.

We are all trying to do a good job of governing in our counties but if the present trend continues for the next twenty-five years, as it has in the past, there won't be any local government to govern. It's time for us to wake up! Don't wait until it is too late, until central government is a 100% fact.

What can we, mere county officials do about it? In my opinion there are several things we can do.

First, don't be one of those officials who turn to Washington and beg free federal funds for your county unless it is absolutely necessary. Every time you take a federal tax dollar you have sold a dollar's worth of your freedom and dignity. Work and vote for those men for the Senate, Congress and the Legislature who will promise to work and vote to preserve the dignity of local government and stop the great concentration of power that is being set up in Washington and all the forty-eight Montgomeries of this country. The only people left who can do this are the county, city and town officials of this country. Ask your friends to support not the all-promising Santa Clauses who want to spend this country to death, but men who believe in getting a dollar's worth of value for every tax dollar.

The Father of Communism, Lenin, once said, "The only way you can ever defeat the United States of America is to make it spend itself to death."

I agree with this statement and it looks like the old boy has got a lot of help up there in Washington to make this come true.

Let's put our own houses in good order and keep them in good order. Then we will have more weight with our people over this wonderful land of ours to put their houses in Washington and all the states in order and preserve the dignity of local government and freedom of each individual citizen of this country. Don't depend on the other fellow to speak up, do it yourself. It's later than you think!

PASTOR VOWS SEGREGATION FIGHT TO END*

By ART OSKOODE

A GROUP OF Baptists dedicated to the fight against racial integration last night applauded a Montgomery minister who vowed to defend segregation "as long as there is a breath of life in my body."

Dr. Henry L. Lyons, pastor of the Highland Avenue Baptist Church, addressing the Baptist Laymen of Alabama at the Whitley Hotel, rejected the argument that racial segregation is un-Christian.

He also attacked the explanation of evolutionists regarding the origin of the races of mankind.

According to the evolutionists, said Lyons, "some men have black faces just because of climatic conditions" in which they lived for tens of thousands of years.

Evolution, he said, "is only a theory—there is not one iota of truth in it." All racial types, Lyons maintained, "are derived from the five strains that survived the flood" in Noah's Ark.

The flood itself was visited on the world, said the minister, "because of racial intermarriage."

"If we integrate," Lyons warned, "we will bring down upon ourselves the curse and fury of a good God."

Certain leaders, he said, are "brainwashing millions of people of this earth into believing that racial amalgamation is the only way to solve world problems."

"The Supreme Court," he told his listeners, "has said the evangels of this propaganda are right."

* From a news story appearing in the Montgomery, Alabama Journal.

However, said Lyons, "not one single passage of Scripture" upholds racial integration. The Golden Rule, he added, "says nothing about segregation," but is "a rule to guide us in dealing with each other."

The Baptist minister affirmed his belief that if integration is resisted, the Supreme Court will eventually reverse its decision against segregation in public schools.

Among the audience were Montgomery Mayor W. A. Gayle and Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers, as well as a number of out-of-town members of the group.

BAPTISTS ATTENTION

ARE YOU INTERESTED IN WHAT IS BEING TAUGHT IN YOUR COLLEGES AND CHURCH-RELATED SCHOOLS?

Dr. T. B. Maston, Professor of Christian Ethics at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, has just published a new book, "Christianity and World Issues." He quotes, several times, Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish Socialist who wrote "An American Dilemma." The following statement is made in the Foreword of "An American Dilemma; . . . a scholar who despite his youth has already achieved an international reputation as a social economist, a professor in the University of Stockholm, . . . And again in the Authors preface the following statement is made . . . "The author fully realizes, and hopes the reader will remember, that he has never been subject to the strains involved in living in a black-white society and has never had to become adjusted to such a situation" . . . Myrdal, all thru the American Dilemma refers to the "AMERICAN CREED" . . . belittling our way of life in America.

Now, Dr. Maston in his book, Christianity and World Issues, makes the following statement . . . "If Myrdal is correct in his conclusion, and it is assumed that he is, then the moral forces of the nation should take the lead in

solving the race problem and in relieving racial tension. While the church is not the only moral agent in the community, nevertheless the church should provide much of the *inspiration and leadership* for every social and moral advance." (emphasis applied) In the preface of his book Dr. Maston says he hopes the book will be acceptable as a text by seminary and church-related colleges who are looking for a book with a definitely Christian orientation. Under Topics and Thought for discussion, he suggests the following: Should a Christian Minister participate in politics?; What about artificial insemination?; What about interracial marriages?; Would the amalgamation of the races be good or bad?; Should church-related colleges admit Negro students?; How would you reply to the Communist charge that the Christian religion is the opiate of the people? . . . (these are just a few of the topics suggested).

Are you interested in what is being taught in your colleges and church-related schools? (Dr. Maston also wrote the tract "Integration," published by the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention.)

Did You Know That . . .

H. H. BARNETTE, Acting Dean of the School of Theology, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky., made the following statement, "To be honest, the preacher must proclaim principles rather than specifics about the race problem. For the Bible does not contain proof texts to support either segregation or integration."

Did You Know That . . .

IN TEXAS and Oklahoma the Presbyterians have been integrating their synods? That in Austin, Texas two Negro churches have been admitted to the Austin Baptist Association . . . said to be the first in the history of the Southern Baptist Convention?

SOUTHERN BAPTISTS:

Do you realize how near your Church is to integration?

Did you know that although the Southern Baptist Convention voted in effect to keep "hands off" integration problems - that is, not to push it or hinder it - the Christian Life Commission of said Convention has accepted a grant from The Fund for the Republic to foster and promote interracial programs in Southern Baptist Churches? This same Fund for the Republic has also made grants to the NAACP and many other interracial groups.

Did you know that this same Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention has printed various tracts and pamphlets among which is a pamphlet entitled "Integration" by T. B. Maston of the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas? In this pamphlet Dr. Maston says . . . "Our Churches and our Church related institutions and agencies should face up to the full implications of the Supreme Court Decision. We need to adjust our racial ethic to conform to the Christian message as well as to conform to the Supreme Court decision." (Italics ours.)

Did you know that the June 24, 1957 issue of "Christianity Today," a Southern Baptist publication which is received by most pastors, carries an article entitled "What Can Southern Baptists Do?" written by Dr. H. H. Barnette, a professor at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.? In this article Dr. Barnette states that "One thing is certain: the Southern Baptist pastor cannot remain neutral any longer concerning the race question in the South." And again that "at the peril of losing his pulpit the Southern preacher must discover positive ways of dealing with racial injustice." Dr. Barnette admits that "to be honest, the preacher must proclaim principles rather than specifics about the race problem. For the Bible does not contain proof texts to support either segregation or integration." We heartily disagree with Dr. Barnette on this point.

Dr. Barnette advises the preachers to be tactful. He says "By emphasizing biblical principles the preacher can avoid semantical problems which grow out of the use of emotionally explosive terms as 'integration' and 'segregation'."

WHAT ARE YOU DOING TO PRESERVE SEGREGATION IN YOUR CHURCH?

On June 5, 1957 at the regular monthly business meeting, Clayton Street Baptist Church, Montgomery, went on record stating that they are opposed to integration. The following resolution was adopted:

"We the members of Clayton Street Baptist Church resolve that no member of the Negro race be allowed to attend any of the services of our Church, such as worship services, Sunday School, Training Union, or any other meeting operating under, or as part of Clayton Street Baptist Church, such as special speakers or singers. In no case shall the doors of the Church be opened for membership to the colored race.

"Furthermore, if any officer of the Church, employed or not advocates integration in any way, he shall forfeit his or her office and/or salary."

We believe God's Word has taught segregation from the beginning of time and we do not believe that any person has the right to misinterpret the teachings of the Bible from the first chapter of Genesis forward in the light of present day socialism.

Did You Know That . . .

CONCERN, the voice of Methodist youth, in its Sept. 27, 1957 issue carries a race relations report, and we quote "We recommend students and youth join and take an active part in organizations that are working in the area of race relations such as: Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Crossville, Tenn., Anti-Defamation League, New York, N.Y.?" Secure a copy of the July 12, 1957 issue and read the two revised versions of the Lord's Prayer.

ONE HUNDRED MEN

P. O. Box 2562, Montgomery, Alabama.

I know that there exists today a world movement directed by subversive forces, presenting philosophies cloaked under long robes of either education or religion. Feeling that BAPTIST LAYMEN OF ALABAMA are making every effort to expose such philosophies that are foreign to Christian white men, it is my desire to join ONE HUNDRED MEN, to give \$5.00 per month for one year, unless I find it necessary to cease contributions. I also understand that the ONE HUNDRED MEN, will send me a postage paid envelope each month for convenience in sending my contribution.

() I enclose five dollars to begin my membership.

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Address..... City.....

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Membership entitles me to Quarterly magazine subscription.

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P. O. Box 2562, Montgomery, Ala.

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I want to do my part to help you in this fight, but instead of monthly contributions, find enclosed herewith my contribution in response to your plea of urgency.

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IF YOU BELIEVE IN
Separation of Church and State, Segregated
Schools and Churches, Pure
Blood Races of Peoples, Local Self-Government
Then You Need To Belong To

BAPTIST LAYMEN OF ALABAMA
P.O. Box 2562
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

CONSTITUTION OF
BAPTIST LAYMEN of ALABAMA

Article I—Name

The name of this organization shall be, "Baptist Laymen of Alabama."

Article II—Purpose

God nowhere says, or even suggests what a great number of people seemingly assume; that is, "souls are saved on the basis of uniform philosophical, sociological rules laid down by modern so-called prophets."

We believe, and teach that souls are saved by God, through the Holy Spirit and shed blood of Jesus, the Divine Son of God. We believe that Jesus taught a "Way of Life," and not a philosophy. There is no record of Jesus ever having used the word. Paul used it once. In his letter to Colosse he said "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, AND NOT AFTER CHRIST."

The word social is used nowhere in the Bible.

For these reasons, our purpose, our aim, our objective is to promote active participation in the affairs of our churches, repudiate, reject and exclude any and all philosophies and sociological teachings as being the means of salvation, and to promote instead the true and Christian meaning of fellowship; teaching our children to think for themselves, study the laws of the prophets and teachings of Jesus Christ as set out in God's Holy Word, the Bible. (King James Version.)

Article III—Membership

Any man who is a member of a Baptist Church in Alabama, and in good standing, and whose application is approved by the Associational Secretary of this organization, becomes an active member.

Any man who is a member of any protestant church in Alabama, and in good standing, whose application is approved by the Associational Secretary of this organization, becomes an associate member.

Article IV—Revenue

The revenue of Baptist Laymen of Alabama, deriving from donations, gifts, membership or otherwise, shall be used exclusively for the promotion of knowledge or educational and religious purposes and no part shall inure to the benefit of any private group or individual.

The Little Rock Story

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Enforcement of Federal Court Decrees

A "Recurrence to Fundamental Principles"

by Alfred J. Schweppe
of the Washington Bar (Seattle)

In this article, Mr. Schweppe examines the constitutional and statutory authority of the executive branch of the government to enforce judicial decrees. He concludes that there exists no such authority. The JOURNAL recognizes that the issue here discussed is one on which there is a sharp difference of opinion among respected legal authorities and welcomes comments on Mr. Schweppe's article.

The use of troops in domestic affairs is, indeed, a very grave matter—the deep concern of every citizen—and may involve fundamental questions of self-government and of civil liberties.

The constitutions or declarations of rights of many of the states, including the writer's own State of Washington, repeat in substance from the Virginia Declaration of Rights of June 12, 1776, made four weeks before the Declaration of Independence, this cardinal tenet:

A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is essential to the security of individual rights and the perpetuity of free government.

That is what is required here: a "recurrence to fundamental principles".

The questions here involved are as fundamental as the question involved in the great landmark case of *Ex parte Milligan*, 4 Wall. 2 (1866), which held invalid the military conviction of a civilian approved by President Lincoln in a Northern area where the civil courts were regularly functioning.

The legal problem is simply stated, namely: where does the legal power reside to enforce federal court decrees rendered under Article III, the Judicial Article, of the United States Constitution?

The issue, of course, is only one of legal power. The President, like every one else, is, as Lord Coke said of James I, "under the law". The issue has nothing to do with the merits of segregation, but only with the lawful manner of enforcing federal court decrees. The President himself has said specifically that troops are in Little Rock "not to enforce or advance any governmental policy respecting integration, desegregation, or segregation" but only to enforce a United States District Court decree.

In a widely publicized letter dated October 7, 1957, to Senator Stennis of Mississippi, the President said:

The executive responsibility is presently confined to carrying out such duties as are placed upon it to support the orders of the district courts.

Manifestly, it makes no difference

what the local governor does. The President's powers to enforce district court decrees are neither enlarged nor diminished by what a state does or does not do.

The Federal Constitution in Article I delegates all legislative power to Congress. Article II delegates the executive power to the President, including the duty to "take care that the laws shall be faithfully executed". Article III delegates the judicial power of the United States to the Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress may establish. Article I delegates to Congress many specific legislative powers and finally the general power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof".

This last clause is commonly known as the "necessary and proper clause".

Thus the lower federal courts are exclusively created, and exclusively regulated, by Congress. The Supreme Court has affirmed this clear constitutional principle hundreds of times.

Acting under these constitutional powers, Congress from the beginning provided that federal court decrees rendered under the Judicial Article (III) of the Constitution shall be executed by the United States Marshal, now Title 28 U. S. Code, Section 547, which provides that the United States Marshal:

shall execute all lawful writs, processes and orders issued under the authority of the United States and to command all necessary assistance to execute his duties.¹

The assistance which he may command has since ancient times been known as a *posse comitatus*.²

This power of the marshal to carry into effect the Judicial Article (III) of the Constitution could derive only from Congress, as decided by the Supreme Court (Chief Justice Marshall).³

The President, who has the duty under Article II to "take care that the laws shall be faithfully executed", has no power to enforce, or aid in enforcing, federal court decrees rendered under Article II to "take care that the laws shall be faithfully executed", has no power to enforce, or aid in enforcing, federal court decrees rendered under the Judicial Article (III) of the Constitution unless Congress invests him with such power. The only statutes that ever gave the President the power to employ the land and naval forces or militia "to aid in the execution of judicial process", were Section 9 of the Act of April 9, 1866, and Section 13 of the Act of May 31, 1870. The latter was the Civil Rights Act of 1870, passed to "enforce" or implement the terms of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, as provided in those amendments. Sections 9 and 13 of the 1866 and 1870 statutes were re-enacted as Section 1989 of the Revised Statutes of 1873, becoming Section 1993 of Title 42, United States Code.

Parenthetically, the Revised Statutes of 1873 were a new starting point for federal statutes, all prior ones having been repealed in the revision.⁴

Hence, so far as federal statutes are concerned, except as to such as have been since enacted by Congress, one today goes back only to the Revised Statutes of 1873, with all prior re-

pealed laws being merely historical background, to be resorted to for purposes of interpretation only in doubtful cases.⁵

On February 16, 1957, a high government official was interrogated by the Senate Judiciary Committee on the intention of the administration to use troops to enforce federal district court decrees in school integration cases under Section 1989 of the Revised Statutes. Though a negative answer was given, still, undoubtedly at the instance of members who feared the power might be used, Section 1989 of the Revised Statutes was expressly repealed in the Civil Rights Act of 1957, of which Section 122 reads as follows:

Section 1989 of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1993) is hereby repealed.

The President signed this bill on September 9, 1957.

Thus, in September, 1957, with the President's express approval, there was repealed the only statute in the United States Code giving the President power to use military force "to aid in the execution of judicial process". Congress in 1957, when the matter became a direct issue, clearly intended that the President should have no power in respect of federal court decrees in civil rights cases. The repeal of a statute specifically dealing with enforcement of court decrees would in any event control over any general statute, if any is applicable, on executing the "laws of the United States". Hence, under present congressional legislation, only the U. S. Marshal has power to enforce court decrees rendered under Article III of the Constitution.

That, by way of virtually a simple syllogism, is the answer to the problem.

What Are "Laws"? . . . The Court's Answer

The answer can be supported in other ways. The Supreme Court has often held that the "laws" which the President shall faithfully execute are the Acts of Congress.⁶

As said by the Court in the *Steel Seizure Cases*, 343 U.S. 579, 585:

The President's power, if any, to issue the order must stem either from an act of Congress or from the Constitution itself. There is no statute that expressly authorizes the President to take possession of property as he did here. Nor is there any act of Congress to which our attention has been directed from which such a power can fairly be implied. . . .

And again:

Nor can the seizure order be sustained because of the several constitutional provisions that grant executive power to the President. In the framework of our Constitution, the President's power to see that the laws are faithfully executed refutes the idea that he is to be a lawmaker. The Constitution limits his functions in the law-making process to the recommending of laws he thinks wise and the vetoing of laws he thinks bad.

And the Constitution is neither silent nor equivocal about who shall make laws which the President is to execute. The first section of the First Article says that "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States . . ." After granting many powers to the Congress, Article I goes on to provide that Congress may "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

And again:

The Founders of this Nation entrusted the *law-making* power to *Congress alone* in both good and bad times. It would do no good to recall the historical events, the fears of power and the hopes of freedom that lay behind their advice.

In *Ex parte Quirin*, 317 U.S. 1, 25-27, Chief Justice Stone said:

Congress and the President, like the courts, possess no power not derived from the Constitution. But one of the objects of the Constitution, as declared by its preamble, is to "provide for the common defence." As a means to that end, the Constitution gives to Congress the power to "provide for the common Defence," Art. I, § 8, cl. 1; "To raise and support Armies," "To provide and maintain a Navy," Art. I, § 8, cl. 12, 13; and "To Make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces," Art. I, § 8, cl. 14.

Congress is given authority "To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water," Art. I, § 8, cl. 11; and "To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and offences against the Law of Nations," Art. I, § 8, cl. 10. And finally, the Constitution authorizes Congress "To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof." Art. I, § 8, cl. 18.

The Constitution confers on the President the "executive power," Art. II, § 1, cl. 1, and imposes on him the duty to "take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed." Art. II, § 3. It makes him the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, Art. II, § 2, cl. 1, and empowers him to appoint

and commission officers of the United States. Art. II, § 3, cl. 1.

The Constitution thus invests the President, as Commander in Chief, with the power to wage war which Congress has declared, and to carry into effect all laws passed by Congress for the conduct of war and for the government and regulation of the Armed Forces, and all laws defining and punishing offenses against the law of nations, including those which pertain to the conduct of war.

Thus, contrary to the common assumption, even the Commander in Chief function is subject to the control of Congress, the President's powers being "purely military" and otherwise under the direction of Congress except in the case of legislation that "interferes with the command of the armed forces and the conduct of campaigns". *Fleming v. Page*, 9 How. 603, 615 (1850); *Ex parte Milligan*, 4 Wall. 2, 139 (1886), *Steel Seizure Cases*, 343 U.S. 579, 644-6 (1952), Mr. Justice Jackson concurring.

In his dissent in *Myers v. U.S.*, 272 U.S. 52, 247 (1926), Mr. Justice Brandeis said:

The end to which the President's efforts are to be directed is . . . the faithful execution of the laws consistent with the provisions made therefor by Congress.

The point was succinctly put by Mr. Justice Douglas in his concurring opinion in the *Steel Seizure Cases*, 343 U.S. 579, 633, in the following words:

But, as Mr. Justice Black and Mr. Justice Frankfurter point out, *the power to execute the laws starts and ends with the laws Congress has enacted.* [Italics supplied.]

Thus, the *law-making power* is in Congress alone. Only Congress makes

"laws of the United States". Supreme Court decisions and district court decisions are not "laws of the United States" in the constitutional and statutory sense, as will later be more specifically demonstrated. Suffice it to say at this point that they are merely decisions between parties to a case or controversy which declare what law is binding between those parties. They do not bind any other person anywhere. On the other hand, "laws of the United States" passed by Congress bind everybody everywhere within the jurisdiction of the United States.

The statutory sections on which the President relied in his Proclamation of September 23, 1957, entitled "Obstructions of Justice in the State of Arkansas",⁷ namely Sections 332, 333 and 334 of Title 10 relating to the Armed Forces as revised in 1956,⁸ cannot by any fair construction be made to give him, under the guise of enforcing the "laws of the United States", the power to enforce federal court decrees in civil rights cases—a power of which Congress, with his own consent, had stripped him exactly two weeks before.

Sections 332 and 333 empower the President to "call into service such of the militia of any state, and use such of the Armed Forces, as he considers necessary" when "unlawful obstructions, combinations or assemblages" make it "impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States in any state or territory by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings". These sections themselves clearly differentiate between "laws of the United States" and judicial decrees to enforce them. There is no conflict between Section 1989 of the Revised Statutes, just repealed, and

Sections 332 and 333 of Title 10 governing the Armed Forces. Section 1989 was a specific statute relating to the "execution of judicial process". Sections 332 and 333 relate to enforcement



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of "laws of the United States" where "judicial proceedings" are "impracticable". The difference is sharp and clear. There is, as every one knows, no Act of Congress requiring integrated schools. In fact, in addition to establishing and maintaining segregated schools in the District of Columbia schools for many decades right down to the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the *Bolling* case, companion to the *Brown* case, Congress directly recognized segregated schools in the states and the District of Columbia as late as 1946 in the school lunch legislation, by requiring separate but equal

distribution of the federal funds provided for that purpose. 42 U. S. Code 1760.

And so, however we approach the legal problem, we arrive at what seems to be the inevitable legal conclusion that the President has no power derived from Congress to enforce federal court decrees rendered under Article III of the Federal Constitution.

It is clear that Congress in 1957 intended that the President should have no such power, but that such decrees rendered under the judicial article should be enforced only by the United States Marshal with a *posse comitatus*, if necessary.

The President has, as noted at the outset, squarely predicated his action on an assumed duty to enforce federal court decrees on the basis of Sections 332 and 333 of Title 10,⁹ and not on the basis of suppressing "domestic violence". That is the only way he could avoid a clash with Article IV, Section 4, of the Constitution, which says that the United States shall protect each state "against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive—when the legislature cannot be convened—against domestic violence". The Federal Government is not to interfere in a case of "domestic violence" within a state unless invited by the representatives of the people. The Constitutional Convention was even fearful of reposing this inviting power in one man alone, but insisted that the state legislature do the inviting, if at all possible. The Founding Fathers were taking no chances with an all-powerful central government and did not want that government to interfere within a state unless expressly invited. The tread of Red Coats on the streets

of Boston was still ringing in their ears. Fresh was the memory that royal governors did the inviting—not members of colonial assemblies.

The Founding Fathers closed the book forever on the exercise of such unrestrained executive power as led to the Revolution. They remembered Cromwell and George III. They knew history. They knew despotism. And they provided against it.

As Mr. Justice Brandeis said, dissenting in *Myers v. United States*, 272 U. S. 52, 293 (1926):

The doctrine of the separation of powers was adopted by the Convention of 1787, not to promote efficiency but to preclude the exercise of arbitrary power. The purpose was, not to avoid friction, but by means of the inevitable friction incident to the distribution of the governmental powers among three departments, to save the people from autocracy.

While under Article II they made the President Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States "and of the militia of the several states when called into actual service of the United States", and imposed on him the duty to "take care that the laws of the United States be faithfully executed", they were careful to provide that *Congress* should have power "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions", and power "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces". These subjects were advisedly delegated to Congress under Article I and not to the President under Article II. (See *The Federalist*, No. 24). Hence Congress alone was empowered to determine how, when, and in what circumstances the President may call

forth "the militia to execute the laws of the union" within the United States.

That acts of Congress are valid insofar as they authorize the President to call forth "the militia to execute the laws of the union", has been long ago decided.¹⁰ But where in the Constitution is there authority to use regular land and naval forces to execute the laws of the union? Is the use of the militia exclusive?¹¹

At the time the Constitution was written there were, under the Confederation both regular federal troops and state militiamen. The regular army of "Continentalists" that served under Washington in the Revolutionary War was almost completely disbanded when peace came. During the Confederation when the Constitution was prepared and adopted, there were in service regular federal troops to guard federal property and to take care of Indian uprisings—a total of 595 men when Washington was inaugurated.¹² Militia were then, as they are now, comprised of state soldiers who have grown up in the state atmosphere; and they were the ones to whom was specifically delegated the power "to execute the laws of the Union" under appropriate acts of Congress.

The views set forth in *The Federalist*, written to persuade adoption of the Constitution and frequently described by Chief Justice Marshall "as of great authority", are important here. It is said in No. 29, ascribed to Hamilton:

In order to cast an odium upon the power of calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, it has been remarked that there is nowhere any provision in the proposed Constitution for calling out the *posse comitatus*, to assist the magistrate in the execution of his duty; whence it

has been inferred, that military force was intended to be his only auxiliary.

. . . It would be . . . absurd to doubt, that a right to pass all laws *necessary and proper* to execute its declared powers would include that of requiring the assistance of the citizens to the officers who may be intrusted with the execution of those laws. . . .

It being therefore evident that the supposition of a want of power to require the aid of the *posse comitatus* is entirely destitute of color, it will follow, that the conclusion which has been drawn from it, in its application to the authority of the federal government over the militia, is as uncandid as it is illogical. What reason could there be to infer, that force was intended to be the sole instrument of authority, merely because there is a power to make use of it when necessary? . . .

There is something so far-fetched and so extravagant in the idea of danger to liberty from the militia, that one is at a loss whether to treat it with gravity or with raillery; whether to consider it was a mere trial of skill, like the paradoxes of rhetoricians; as a disingenuous artifice to instil prejudices at any price; or as the serious offspring of political fanaticism. Where, in the name of common-sense, are our fears to end if we may not trust our sons, our brothers, our neighbors, our fellow-citizens? What shadow of danger can there be from men who are daily mingling with the rest of their countrymen, and who participate with them in the same feelings, sentiments, habits, and interests? What reasonable cause of apprehension can be inferred from a power in the Union to prescribe regulations for the militia, and to command its services when necessary, while the particular States are to have the *sole and exclusive appointment of the officers*?

The "laws of the union" to be executed by the militia are, of course, the same "laws" that the President is faithfully to execute under Article II,

namely, *Acts of Congress*, as the court has held in many cases, the latest being the famous *Steel Seizure Cases*.

And it should be emphasized again that the President can only use force to execute the laws of the union in the manner and to the extent *authorized by Congress*. He has no power to use force except as *authorized by Congress*. The Founding Fathers saw to that.

The point that when Congress employs the phrase "a law of the United States", or "laws of the Union", it intends the phrase to be understood and applied in the customary sense—as synonymous with "acts of Congress"—is demonstrated dramatically by the affair called *In re Neagle*.

The case, reported at 135 U. S. 1, turned in part upon a provision of Section 753, Revised Statutes, now set forth, as amended, at 28 U.S.C. Section 2241. In its original language, the provision was that "The writ of habeas corpus [within the jurisdiction of federal courts] shall in no case extend to a prisoner . . . unless . . . he is . . . in custody for an act done or omitted in pursuance of *a law of the United States . . .*" (italics added).

One question was this: If we assume that there is no act of Congress authorizing a U.S. marshal to act as body-guard for a Supreme Court Justice, and if a marshal acting under an executive order requiring him to protect a certain justice kills an allegedly unarmed assailant who has sworn vengeance against that justice, can the marshal be tried for homicide in the state courts?

Actually, the Court held that the marshal was indeed authorized by an act of Congress. Said the Court: "But there is positive law investing the

marshals and their deputies with powers which not only justify what Marshal Neagle did in this matter, but which imposed it upon him as a duty. [See] chapter fourteen of the Revised Statutes of the United States . . . section 753 . . .".

Nevertheless, the Court addressed itself to the hypothetical question—and hence delivered itself of this sweeping dictum:

It is urged, however, that there exists no statute authorizing any such protection as that which Neagle was instructed to give Judge Field in the present case. . . . In the view we take of the Constitution of the United States, any obligation fairly and properly inferrible from that instrument, or any duty of the marshal to be derived from the general scope of his duties under the laws of the United States, is "a law" within this phrase.

But Congress thereafter overruled this dictum by amending the provision to read: "The writ of habeas corpus shall not extend to a prisoner unless . . . he is in custody for an act done or omitted in pursuance of *an Act of Congress . . .*" (italics added). Here, then, we have high proof as to what Congress meant and means by the words "a law of the United States" or "laws of the Union".

In addition to giving this dictum, the Court also asked a question:

Since the marshal had acted under an executive order, the Court said:

The Constitution, Section 3, Article 2, declares that the President "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed". . . . Is this duty limited to the enforcement of acts of Congress or of treaties of the United States according to their *express terms*, or does it include the rights, duties and obligations growing out of the Constitution itself, our international relations, and all the protection implied by the nature

of the government under the Constitution? [The italics are in the original.]

This question—despite its question-begging form—was answered emphatically by the Supreme Court itself, in the *Steel Seizure Cases*. *Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579 (1952). The President has no “inherent powers”. And the point that any positive implications of the question asked in the *Neagle case* were thereby rejected was underscored by the dissenting opinion. See pages 687, 692, 702.

In our present situation we have, in addition, a clear expression of congressional intent in 1957 that without affecting his powers to execute the “laws of the United States”, the President should have no power in respect of federal court decrees.

Are Decisions “Laws”? A Persuasive Answer

But if the view is suggested that, (1) a district court decree is a “law of the United States” within the meaning of Sections 332 and 333 of Title 10, or (2) that a Supreme Court decision is a “law of the United States”, or (3) that the Fourteenth Amendment as construed by the Supreme Court in the *Brown* case in 1954, and implemented by the district court, is one of the “laws of the United States” the answers are adequate and persuasive.

First. Neither Supreme Court decisions nor district court decrees are, in the constitutional and statutory sense “laws of the United States”. A Supreme Court ruling is merely binding on the parties to that case, and becomes a precedent to be followed or not, as the court may choose, in the next case involving like issues between

other parties.

Article VI, Section 2, speaks of the Constitution, and all “laws of the United States” made in pursuance thereof, and treaties made under the authority of the United States, as the supreme law of the land. Court decisions are not mentioned. Courts merely have the power to *declare* what legal obligation is applicable in a particular case between the parties to that case, not to *make* “laws of the United States”, which is the sole prerogative of Congress. Chief Justice Marshall in *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch 137 (1803).

A court decision merely decides; it decides a dispute between the parties to a case or controversy as to the law or facts, or both, depending on the precise issues between the parties in that case. A written opinion is just an “opinion” and nothing more. It is, as the dictionary says, “the notion, idea, or view” that the court entertains and expresses as a basis for a judgment or decree. The final judgment or decree, based upon the opinion, ends the dispute between the parties. The ruling does not “make” law but merely *declares or interprets* what law is binding in the particular dispute.

As said by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit (opinion by Cameron, Circuit Judge), in a recent case (*Indiviglio v. United States*, October 31, 1957):

The decision in *Jencks* [decided by the United States Supreme Court June 3, 1957], within the limits of the points actually decided, is the law of

that case. But it is not the law of this case—nor the “law of the land.”

The principle is clearly spelled out in the recent book by the late Mr. Justice Jackson:¹³

But perhaps the most significant and least comprehended limitation upon the judicial power is that this power extends only to cases and controversies. . . . The result of the limitation is that the Court's only power is to decide lawsuits between adversary litigants. . . . Also, as an appellate court, it properly can act only on the state of facts revealed by the record made in the court below, supplemented sometimes by general information of which it may take judicial notice.

. . . And when it is all over, judicial decree, however broadly worded, actually binds, in most instances, only the parties to the case. As to others, it is merely a weather vane showing which way the judicial wind is blowing—a precedent that the Court in a similar case is likely to follow. Its real weight in subsequent cases, however, will depend on many factors, such as the quality of the prevailing opinion, the strength of any dissent, the acceptance or criticism by the profession, and the experience in application of the rule.

To emphasize this aspect, the decisions of the Supreme Court in the *Brown* case and *Bolling* case in 1954¹⁴ could operate lawfully only as directions

to the district courts below in those cases. The Supreme Court has no power to issue directions to district judges generally in cases not before it. In new segregation cases, the district judges follow the precedent of the *Brown* case of 1954, instead of the contrary *Gong Lum* case¹⁵ of 1927 specifically upholding segregated schools in the State of Mississippi under the Fourteenth Amendment, presumably be-

cause of the likelihood that if they do not, the Supreme Court as now constituted will reverse and order them to proceed accordingly.

Courts often refer to Supreme Court decisions as binding precedents, which only means, however, that if a similar case comes along, then, in the orderly administration of justice, a lower court judge at least follows the higher court decision, leaving it to the higher court to change its earlier ruling, if need be. It is a rare lower court judge, indeed, who undertakes to correct a higher court, no matter how strongly he may disagree.

Whatever their effect, volatile or otherwise, as precedents in future cases between other parties, Supreme Court decisions are not “laws of the United States” in the constitutional or statutory sense. That is, they are not statutes and cannot have the effect of statutes.

It is, of course, well known that President Andrew Jackson, who had been a judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, did not think that a Supreme Court decision was a “law of the United States” that he was bound faithfully to execute. When he was advised of the Supreme Court's decision in *Worcester v. Georgia*, 6 Peters 515 (1832), he said, “John Marshall wrote it; let him enforce it”.

Moreover, and obviously, a United States district court decree cannot properly be held to be a “law of the United States”. Such a decree is binding only on the parties, is a precedent only within the district and not binding on a federal judge who disagrees.

Cognizance should probably be taken here of the revolutionary ruling in *Erie Railroad Co. v. Tompkins*, 304 U.S. 64

(1938), in which the majority of the Court, without the question's being suggested or argued by counsel, and after refusing the request of the minority that the case be assigned for re-argument, overruled the great century-old decision written by Mr. Justice Story in *Swift v. Tyson*, 16 Pet. 1 (1842), and the dozens of decisions following it. This was done notwithstanding the fact that *Swift v. Tyson* had been accepted by Congress in the Revised Statutes of 1873 as the correct exposition of the Judiciary Act—a point which Mr. Justice Brandeis and the majority in *Tompkins*, in their precipitous haste, completely overlooked.¹⁶ The majority of the Court construed the words "laws of the several states" as including state judicial decisions as well as statutes, contrary to Story's view, frequently followed by the Supreme Court and accepted by Congress, that the word "laws" meant only "statutes". The majority in *Tompkins* purported to rest its holding on a law review article written by Mr. Charles Warren. Mr. Warren's *ex parte* researches and conclusions were, immediately after *Tompkins*, flatly challenged.¹⁷ The word "law", in its singular or plural form, appears in the Federal Constitution and its amendments many times, and except in certain instances (small in number) where the word is used in reference to the jurisprudence of the states, and of the law of nations, or where it is merely a term of description—such as "courts of law", "cases in law and equity"—the word is used in the meaning of "statute" or "statutes" enacted by Congress.¹⁸ The *Tompkins* decision is demonstrably erroneous, has created more problems than it has solved, has

retarded the desirable trend toward common-law uniformity, in which the federal courts were wielding a strong influence, and has rendered diversity of citizenship jurisdiction in the federal courts a largely useless burden.¹⁹ The interpretation in *Tompkins* of the word "law" as including state court decisions as well as state statutes is not only wrong but, in the writer's opinion, inexcusable. It represents a case of crass violation of decisional precepts that the majority had often laid down—apparently for others.²⁰ In any event, the *Tompkins* decision is inapplicable here, where the context and the Supreme Court's decisions determine indisputably that the "laws" which the President under the Constitution is faithfully to execute are not court decisions (which are not "laws of the United States") nor the Constitution itself unimplemented by legislation, but "acts of Congress".

Second. The executive power conferred on the President in Article II to execute the laws, as ruled by the Supreme Court in the *Steel Seizure Cases* and in other cases, is not self-executing and requires congressional legislation in any case, and even more specifically in the case of "calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union" and government and regulation of the Armed Forces. According to the Constitution, the President cannot use the militia to execute the laws of the union *except as authorized by Congress*. Because Congress was invested with the sole power to determine the use of force to execute the laws of the United States, in the silence of Congress, the President would have no such power. In consideration of the problems of

executing domestic civil or criminal laws we are not in any commander-in-chief area, which relates solely to "military duties", as previously pointed out. In any event, Article II does not confer presidential power in the face of an unequivocal expression of congressional intent in 1957, by repeal of Section 1989 of the Revised Statutes of 1873, that the President should have no power to employ "the land and naval forces of the United States, or of the militia . . . to aid in the execution of judicial process" in civil rights cases.

Pertinent are the words of Mr. Justice Jackson in the *Steel Seizure Cases*, 343 U.S. 579, 637:

When the President takes measures incompatible with the expressed or implied will of Congress, his power is at its lowest ebb for then he can rely only upon his own constitutional powers minus any constitutional powers of Congress over the matter.

The intent of Congress in 1957 was not left to implication.

In the current discussion of the problem of the presidential use of troops at Little Rock, reference has been made by some persons, including the President,²¹ to Section 15 of the Act of June 18, 1878 (20 Stat. 152; repealed in 1956 as Section 15 of Title 10 and re-enacted in the same bill as Section 1385 of Title 18, the Criminal Code) which reads as follows:

Whoever, except in cases and under circumstances expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress, wilfully uses any part of the Army or Air Force as a *posse comitatus* or otherwise, to execute the laws, shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned more than two years, or both.

This statute, which not until 1956 included the Air Force, was first passed in 1878 by a Democratic Congress to prevent Republican President Hayes from using troops to enforce election laws in the South either directly or through the United States Marshal. The law was doubtless enacted in part also to overcome a view maintained in an opinion of Attorney General Caleb Cushing, 6 Op. Atty. Gen. 466 (1854), to the effect that United States marshals, could use, as a *posse comitatus*, not only bystanders and citizens in the community, but the federal armed forces within their precincts.

When this measure was passed in 1878, it was hailed by its proponents as a great victory in the struggle for a "government of laws". One spokesman said:

We have this day secured to the people of this country the same great protection against a standing army which cost a struggle of two hundred years for the Commons of England to secure for the British people.²²

It was thought by its sponsors that henceforth the power "to execute the laws" by military force no longer existed in the President, and that the laws were to be enforced solely by the U. S. Marshal, with a *posse comitatus*, if necessary, not including troops.²³

A recent vigorous comment on this statute is that of Mr. Justice Jackson concurring in the *Steel Seizure Cases*, 343 U. S. 579, 644-5:

It was also left to Congress to "provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions. . . ."

Such a limitation on the command power, written at a time when the militia rather than the standing army was contemplated as the military weapon of the Republic, underscores the Constitution's policy that Congress, not the executive, should control utilization of the war power as an instrument of domestic policy. Congress, fulfilling that function, has authorized the President to use the army to enforce certain civil rights

[citing the statute since repealed.] On the other hand, Congress has forbidden him to use the army for the purpose of executing general laws except when expressly authorized by the Constitution or by act of Congress [citing the *posse comitatus* act].

Sections 5298 and 5299 of the Revised Statutes and the Act of 1878 were all re-enacted in the recodification act of 1956. So it must today be acknowledged that Sections 332 and 333 of Title 10 are now express exceptions created by Congress simultaneously with the enactment of Section 1385 of Title 18. Hence, whatever might have been the proper legal meaning of the 1878 statute prior to 1956,²⁴ we now appear to be remitted only to the question of the correct construction of Sections 332 and 333 of Title 10, which, as of 1956, are express exceptions to the *posse comitatus* act. The construction of these sections has been discussed above.

Even without the aid, however, of Section 1385 of Title 10 (the *posse comitatus* act just referred to), as the author sees it, we end up with the conclusion that military force cannot be used by the President either (1) to enforce federal court decrees because the only specific statute was repealed in 1957, or (2) to execute the "laws" because court decrees are not "laws of

the United States".

Clearly, however, the United States Marshal has the power and duty to execute federal court decrees with the assistance, if need be, of a *posse comitatus*, not including military forces.

If it should be suggested that the President has taken an oath under Article II, Section 1 that he will "to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States", the answer is that the President's oath, far from being a grant of power, is a restraint on it. Its prototype, the oath of English monarchs since William and Mary, was to obtain a commitment that the hard-won rights and liberties of the English people would be preserved, protected and defended and not trampled under foot. (See annotation, *Constitution of the United States, Revised and Annotated*, Government Printing Office, 1952, page 389). Thus the President's

oath was primarily required to prevent him from overthrowing the Constitution and setting up a military dictatorship or monarchy. That is the restraint that concerned the Founding Fathers. *The Federalist*, No. 26.

Hence, whatever excursion is taken through the Constitution and the applicable statutes, one ends with the conclusion that, as of now, the President has no lawful power to use military force to carry out federal court decrees rendered under Article III of the Constitution. In this writer's opinion, it would require either (1) an act of Congress to invest him with such power, since none now exists, and was clearly intended as of September 9, 1957, not to exist, or (2) the reversal by the Supreme Court of the *Steel Seiz-*

ure, *Quirin*, and other cases on the extent of the executive power and the President's duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and of hundreds of decisions concerning the exclusive power of Congress over the lower federal courts.²⁵

1. 1 Stat. 87 (1789); Rev. Stat. §787.
2. *In re Quarles*, 158 U.S. 532, 535 (1895): "It is the right, as well as the duty, of every citizen, when called upon by the proper officer, to act as part of the posse comitatus in upholding the laws of his country."
3. *Wayman v. Southard*, 10 Wheat. 1 (1825); see to the same effect *Bank of United States v. Halstead*, 10 Wheat. 51 (1825).
4. *United States v. Bowen*, 100 U.S. 508, 513; *United States v. Locher*, 134 U.S. 624, 626-7 (1889).
5. Simkins. FEDERAL PRACTICE, Third Edition (1938), page 882, footnote 5. And see footnote 4.
6. *Steel Seizure Cases*, 343 U.S. 579, 585 (1952), written by Justice Black of Alabama; *Ex parte Quirin*, 317 U.S. 1, 25-27 (1942), written by Chief Justice Stone of New York.

7. "Obstruction of Justice in the State of Arkansas By the President of the United States of America"

"A Proclamation

"WHEREAS, certain persons in the State of Arkansas, individually and in unlawful assemblages, combinations and conspiracies, have wilfully obstructed the orders of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas with respect to matters relating to the enrollment and attendance at public schools, particularly at Central High School, located in Little Rock school district, Little Rock, Ark., and

"WHEREAS, such wilful obstruction of justice hinders the execution of the laws of that state and of the United States, and makes it impracticable to enforce such laws by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and

"WHEREAS, such obstruction of justice constitutes a denial of the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution of the United States and impedes the course of justice under those laws:

"NOW, THEREFORE, I, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 United States Code, particularly Sections 332, 333, and 334 thereof, do command all persons engaged in such obstruction of justice to cease and desist therefrom, and to disperse forthwith.

"IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

"DONE at the City of Newport, R. I., this twenty-third day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1957, and of the independence of the United States the 182d.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER."

This proclamation, made pursuant to Section 334 of Title 10 U.S. Code, was accompanied by a Presidential statement published in full in THE NEW YORK TIMES, September 24, 1957.

The executive orders calling out the troops, one by the President dated September 24, directing the Secretary of Defense to call out troops, and the other by the Secretary of Defense dated the same day carrying out the President's order, are published in THE NEW YORK TIMES, September 25, 1957, as well as

the President's radio-television address to the country on the evening of September 24, 1957.

8. The comprehensive Act of August 10, 1956, revising Title 10 of the U.S. Code relating to the "armed forces" provides in Sections 331, 332, 333 and 334 as follows:

"§331. Federal aid for State governments.

"Whenever there is an insurrection in any State against its government, the President may, upon the request of its legislature or of its governor if the legislature cannot be convened, call into Federal service such of the militia of the other States, in the number requested by that State, and use such of the armed forces, as he considers necessary to suppress the insurrection.

"§332. Use of militia and armed forces to enforce Federal authority.

"Whenever the President considers that unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages, or rebellion against the authority of the United States, make it impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States in any State or Territory by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, he may call into Federal service such of the militia of any state, and use such of the armed forces, as he considers necessary to enforce those laws or to suppress the rebellion.

"§333. Interference with State and Federal law.

"The President, by using the militia or the armed forces, or both, or by any other means, shall take such measures as he considers necessary to suppress, in a State, any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combinations, or conspiracy, if it—

- (1) So hinders the execution of the laws of that State, and of the United States within the State, that any part or class of its people is deprived of a right, privilege, immunity, or protection named in the Constitution and secured by law, and the constituted authorities of that State are unable, fail, or refuse to protect that right, privilege, or immunity, or to give that protection; or
- (2) opposes or obstructs the execution of

the laws of the United States or impedes the course of justice under those laws.

"§334. Proclamation to disperse.

"Whenever the President considers it necessary to use the militia or the armed forces under this chapter, he shall, by proclamation, immediately order the insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their abodes within a limited time."

The foregoing were Sections 5297-5300 of the Revised Statutes.

If it is claimed that Section 333 (2) empowers the President by the military generally to enforce the federal statutes relating to the Judicial Department created by Article III of the Constitution, including the enforcement of court decrees—an argument that might at first blush appear to have some support on the face of the section—it will be remembered that whenever Congress determined to invest the President with power to enforce such decrees, Congress in 1866 and 1870, in civil rights legislation specifically conferred such power, later incorporated in Section 1989 of the Revised Statutes and repealed in 1957. In addition, Congress has carefully spelled out that the United States Marshal shall execute such decrees with the aid of a posse comitatus. It would seem manifest that the specific should definitely control over the general, and that repeal of the specific power is congressional action indicating that the power to enforce federal court decrees by use of military power should

The extent to which Lincoln would have modified these views today, or may have modified them before his death, is a moot question, but it is clear on its face that he would not have been in sympathy with the Supreme Court's position on desegregation.

* * *

PERHAPS the most discouraging spectacle is the spectacle of Northern newspapers dwelling with pleasure upon the predicament of the Southern parent who is forced to choose between desegregation and no school at all for his child.

It does not seem to occur to the papers that this is the cruelest sort of blackmail; that the North is virtually putting a pistol at the head of the Southern parent in a gesture which every Northerner must contemplate with shame.

Indeed, there now seems little doubt that the court's recent decision has set back the cause of the Negro in the South by a generation.

He may force his way into white schools, but will not force his way into white hearts nor earn the respect he seeks.

What evolution was slowly and wisely achieving, revolution has now arrested, and the trail of bitterness will lead far.

Sincerely yours,
CARLETON PUTNAM

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High Court's 'Arrogance' Is Viewed By Northerner

A letter to the President

By CARLETON PUTNAM



Carleton Putnam, who wrote the following to President Eisenhower, is a member of the famous New England Putnam family, a native of New York City, a graduate of Princeton and Columbia, founder and president of Chicago and Southern Airlines (1933-1948), and is on the board of Delta Airlines. He recently published a widely-praised biography of Theodore Roosevelt.

Washington, D. C.
Oct. 13, 1958

The Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.
My dear Mr. President:

A few days ago I was reading over Justice Frankfurter's opinion in the recent Little Rock case. Three sentences in it tempt me to write you this letter.

I am a Northerner, but I have spent a large part of my life as a business executive in the South. I have a law degree, but I am now engaged in historical writing.

From this observation post I risk the presumption of a comment.

The sentences I wish to examine are these: "Local customs, however hardened by time, are not decreed in heaven. Habits and feelings they engender may be counteracted and moderated. Experience attests that such local habits and feelings will yield, gradually though this be, to law and education."

* * *

IT IS MY PERSONAL CONVICTION that the local customs in this case were "hardened by time" for a very good reason, and that while they may not, as Frankfurter says, have been decreed in heaven, they come closer to it than the current view of the Supreme Court.

I was particularly puzzled by Frankfurter's remark that "the Constitution is not the formulation of the merely personal views of the members of this court."

Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the Constitution meant one thing; five minutes later, it meant something else. Only one thing intervened, namely, an expression of the personal views of the members of the court.

* * *

IT IS NOT my purpose to dispute the point with which the greater part of Frankfurter's opinion is concerned. The law must be obeyed. But I think the original desegregation decision was wrong, that it ought to be reversed, and that meanwhile every legal means should be found, not to disobey it, but to avoid it. Failing this, the situation should be corrected by constitutional amendment.

* * *

I CANNOT AGREE that this is a matter involving "a few states" as Frankfurter suggests. The picture in reality is of a court, by one sudden edict, forcing upon the entire South a view, and a way of life, with which the great majority of the population are in complete disagreement.

Although not from the legal, in fact from the practical, standpoint the North, which does not have the problem, is presuming to tell the South, which does have the problem, what to do.

To me there is a frightening arrogance in this performance. Neither the North, nor the court, has any holy mandate inherent in the trend of the times or the progress of liberalism to reform society in the South.

In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word "association" here I mean the right to associate with whom you please, and the right not to associate with whom you please.)

In any case the crux of this issue would seem obvious: Social status has to be earned.

Personally I feel only affection for the Negro. But there are facts that have to be faced. Any man with two eyes in his head can observe a Negro settlement in the Congo, can study the pure-blooded African in his native habitat as he exists when left on his own resources, can compare this settlement with London or Paris, and can draw his own conclusions regarding relative levels of character and intelligence—or that combination of character and intelligence which is civilization.

Finally he can inquire as to the number of pure-blooded blacks who have made contributions to great literature or engineering or medicine or philosophy or abstract science.

We were all in caves or trees originally. The progress which the pure-blooded black has made when left to himself, with a minimum of white help or hindrance, genetically or otherwise, can be measured today in the Congo.

Lord Bryce, a distinguished impartial foreign observer, presented the situation accurately in his American Commonwealth when he wrote in 1880:

"History is a record of the progress toward civilization of races originally barbarous. But that progress has in all cases been slow and gradual . . . Utterly dissimilar is the case of the African Negro, caught up in and whirled along with the swift movement of the American democracy. In it we have a singular juxtaposition of the most primitive and the most recent, the most rudimentary and the most highly developed, types of culture . . . A body of savages is violently carried across the ocean and set to work as slaves on the plantations of masters who are three or four thousands years in advance of them in mental capacity and moral force . . . Suddenly, even more suddenly than they were torn from Africa, they find themselves, not only free, but made full citizens and active members of the most popular gov-

ernment the world has seen, treated as fit to bear an equal part in ruling, not only themselves, but also their recent masters."

One does not telescope three or four thousand years into the 70 years since Bryce wrote.

* * *

I WOULD EMPHATICALLY support improvement of education in Negro schools, if and where it is inferior.

Equality of opportunity and equality before the law, when not strained to cover other situations, are acceptable ideals because they provide the chance to earn and to progress—and consequently should be enforced by legal fiat as far as is humanly possible.

Throughout this controversy there has been frequent mention of the equality of man as a broad social objective. No proposition in recent years has been characterized by more loose thinking. Few of us would care to enter a poetry contest with a top-ranking poet. And few would care to play chess with the champion.

* * *

PIN DOWN THE MAN who uses the word "equality," and at once the evasions and qualifications begin. As I recall, you, yourself, in a recent statement used some phrase to the effect that men were "equal in the sight of God."

I would be interested to know where in the Bible you get your authority in Scripture for the concept of potential equality in the sight of God—after earning that status, and with various further qualifications—but where is the authority for the sort of ipso facto equality suggested by your context? The whole idea contradicts the basic tenet of the Christian and Jewish religions that status is earned through righteousness and is not an automatic matter.

* * *

FRANKFURTER closes his opinion with a quotation from Abraham Lincoln, to whom the Negro owes more than to any other man. I, too, would like to quote from Lincoln. At Charleston, Ill., in September, 1858, in a debate with Douglas, Lincoln said:

"I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes nor qualifying them to hold office . . . I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And in as much as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

AFFAIRS OF STATE

By CHARLES M. HILLS



ACTUAL FACT

There has been an impression around this state that Mississippi is on some sort of moratorium list of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the U.S. Supreme Court.

Some seem to think there has been an agreement that we would not be attacked by the integrationists during the current administration.

Others suspect that some fearful and mythical force is staying off disaster until another day.

On the latter suggestion, we will say that there is a partial truth.

There has been a force and there still is, that has done a great deal to safeguard us... the Mississippi Citizens Council.

Not an organization of moderations by any means, the Council has posed a great deterrent to the knuckling under of our own people, in the first place, and it has unfailingly quieted if not put to shame those weaklings and would be intellectuals who would preach the "inevitable."

DEATH 'N' TAXES

Someone has truly said that death and taxes are the only inevitables.

A fighting man cannot be defeated so long as he stands and fights, and, that is just what the Citizens Councils have done.

There has been no agreement by the NAACP to leave us alone. There is no magic formula by which we are immune to integration, regardless of what anyone may claim.

You may point with pride, if you believe in segregation, to the work of Bill Simmons, Bob Patterson, Ellis Wright, and the many other leaders of the Citizens Councils who standing up in front battling to stave off integration.

The NAACP and the Supreme Court alike have always tried first to integrate at the seeming weak points.

They started in areas that they felt were ready.

Once started, they have to keep face and continue.

Brooks Hays and his fellow-travelers may be counted as the people who said Arkansas was ready. They didn't count on Faubus and a militant Arkansas populace.

MODERATION FATAL

Faubus wouldn't succumb to moderation. But, lack of a strong Citizens Council in Arkansas at the time, may have brought on the false notion that the Arkansas capital would be an easy target for integration.

Weak leaders, moderationists, may invite integration, but, so long as the people organize into strong Citizens' Councils, the NAACP is going to have tough sledding cracking the segregation wall.

May we say to you that the above thoughts have been in our mind for sometime, but we were prompted to express them today when we talked with an out-of-state newspaper man who has had experience in areas where integration has been attempted.

He laid Mississippi's lack of such attempts, so far, directly to the work of the Citizens' Councils and nothing else.

"I only wish we had had the foresight to organize earlier in our state," he volunteered.

"We are getting rid of the moderates now, but we waited too long," he said. "Now we have trouble. I hope your Councils keep up the good work. The minorities have become majorities and now we are the underdog. If you keep up the fight, the tables may turn. Certainly, your councils have protected you so far and nothing else that I can see."

NO QUOTATION

This writer would like to have quoted our newspaper friend, but he modestly has requested no identification.

"I am not going to meddle in your state," he said.

But, one doesn't need a quotation to cite an obvious truth.

If you will think back, the force in Mississippi that has been publicly attacked on a national scale by the NAACP has been the Mississippi Citizens' Council.

The Council has been the only force that has made the NAACP howl.

That ought to tell you a story.

When wild tales come your way of dragons of moderation that protect our people... put them down to the fairies.

Be real... Remember Little Rock!

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Vol. III No. 5

Racial Integrity - Not Amalgamation

January, 1958

NEWS FROM THE STATE CAPITALS

Phoenix, Ariz. - Sponsored by the Tucson Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, a "civil rights" bill will be introduced into this session of the Legislature. The bill will ban discrimination against negroes in all hotels, resorts, or lodging establishments, places where food or drinks are sold, means of public conveyance, entertainment and recreational facilities, hospitals and medical institutions. A similar bill failed to pass last session. The Tucson Mayor's Committee has found that Whites do not care to mix with negroes in Arizona, so want to compel mixing by law which it hypocritically states "will provide a more democratic (sic) atmosphere in local hotels and restaurants." All Whites in Arizona, especially organizations of all types, should immediately contact their Legislators in opposition to this and any similar bills.

Boston, Mass. - In his annual message to the State Legislature, Gov. Furcolo advocated the establishments of regional offices of the Mass. Commission Against Discrimination all over the State to enforce the State "civil rights" laws.

Lansing, Mich. - Additional measures to "broaden and strengthen" Michigan's "civil rights" laws have been proposed which, it is claimed, would abolish racial and religious discrimination in education, public accommodations and housing.

Albany, N. Y. - Gov. Harriman wants a State law to prohibit racial or religious discrimination in the rental or sale of private housing. He also asked that the State Commission Against Discrimination be given more power and the authority to initiate enforceable action on its own motion.

Columbus, Ohio - Last summer, Gov. O'Neill issued an executive decree banning racial discrimination in employment for State jobs. Now he has appointed a 16 man commission, headed by Charles Y. Lazarus to propose legislation banning discrimination based on race, color or creed to be submitted to the State Legislature.

NEWS IN BRIEF...A baby girl with 2 heads and a tail was born at Adeyoe Hospital in Lagos, Nigeria...The NAACP says negroes are being discriminated against in Alaska and has sent an official there to survey the "civil rights" situation...A nine year old negro girl became a mother in Little Rock. Two months before, another negro girl gave birth to a 6 pound, 4 ounce baby at Arkansas Medical Center in Little Rock on her 11th birthday. These are the children Ike wants the Whites of Little Rock to attend school with...There are only 5 negroes enrolled at Clinton High this year. Next year there may be none...A survey conducted by *Sponsor Magazine* discovered negro women use nearly twice as many deodorants as White women...The forty White patients at Cincinnati's Dunham Tuberculosis Hospital, who protested being integrated with negro patients, were told to either accept the blacks or go home by Dr. Herman Nimitz, hospital superintendent.

SEGREGATION AIDS NEGRO CHURCHES...The highest percentage of negro church members live in the segregated states of Georgia, Alabama, Texas, North and South Carolina, Virginia and Mississippi. It is lowest in the integrated

states of New York and Illinois where only 25% of eligible negroes are church members. Instead of aiding the NAACP, negro churches, for their own benefit, should be working for segregation.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE ARMSTRONG NARCOTICS CASE?...On Jan. 14, 1954, the negro press reported that Lucille Armstrong, wife of Lou (Satchmo) Armstrong, had been arrested in Honolulu, Hawaii, for smuggling narcotics into the island from Japan. Dope was found concealed in her eyeglass case when she, her husband and band arrived in Honolulu from Japan. Lucille denied the case belonged to her. Since that time, WANS has been unable to learn what happened. Obviously, pressure was exerted and the case was dropped. Since then Lou and Lucille have been wined and dined at the White House by Eisenhower and Tricky Dicky Nixon and the State Department has called Lou its unofficial "Ambassador Without Portfolio."

SOUTHERN MAYOR'S WIFE ENTERTAINS IMMORAL NEGRESS...Baton Rouge, La. - Mrs. Jack Christian, wife of the Mayor of Baton Rouge, invited negress Carrolle Drake to tea at her home. The negress, who starred in *Band of Angels*, has lived with a profusion of men over the years. Just 3 months before the Mayor's wife entertained her, she stated in a Los Angeles' court: "I've done nothing but have babies (illegitimate, of course) for the last 3 1/2 years." She receives \$750 a month from Billy Eckstine for 2 illegitimate children he admits he fathered. Carrolle is indeed a fitting guest for the Mayor's "lady" to entertain. Something is rotten in Baton Rouge.

PENSION CHECK LATE - BOMBS POST OFFICE...Baltimore, Md. - Because his \$50 a month VA pension check was late, Oliver Ross, a 33 year old negro, bombed the Druid Station Post Office. Upon his arrest, Ross said: "I didn't have any thing against the Post Office, but its part of the U. S. Government and I got a beef against the Veterans' Administration." Since the negro seems well enough to make and throw bombs, perhaps he is well enough to support him self without expecting the Government to support him for the rest of his life.

NEGRO PRIVATE KILLS HIS WHITE SERGEANT...Camp Lejeune, N. C. - Following a hearing at which negro Marine private Isaiah Andrews of Newark, N. J., was accused of "disrespect to a superior," the negro grabbed a gun and killed Sgt. Paul G. Grant of Bladenboro, N. C. Sgt. Grant had preferred charges against the negro. The death of this White Marine Sergeant is directly attributable to racial integration in the Marine Corps.

Meanwhile, Rear Admiral George L. Russell approved the death sentence for Seaman 3/C James Henderson (see Dec. WS), a negro who had murdered a White officer aboard ship. The trial record will now be reviewed and then sent to President Eisenhower.

PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS UNION AIDS THE NAACP...New York, N. Y. - Ralph Helstein, President of the United Packinghouse Workers (AFL-CIO) presented a \$5,000 gift from the Union to the NAACP at a dinner held here Jan. 6th. In ad-

dition the Union paid \$500 for a Life Membership in the NAACP. Also "a group of Georgia teachers" gave \$134. The Georgia negro Masons' Grand Lodge became a Life Member as did John W. Dobbs, Grand Master of the Georgia negro Masons. Other contributions by NAACP units were: North Carolina State NAACP, \$2,000; Fort Worth, Texas, branch, \$500; Stamford, Conn., \$400; Yonkers, N. Y., \$400; New Haven, Conn., \$300; Des Moines, Iowa, \$100; Altheimer, Ark., \$100. The 'Emancipation Association' of Winston-Salem, N. C., made a \$300 payment on a Life Membership.

HICKEY'S CHICKENS COME HOME TO ROOST...St. Louis, Mo. - When Charles Brown, a 28 year old negro, was murdered by another negro early this month, it did not make the papers. Negro killings seldom do. What interests WANS is that Brown was a 6th grade teacher at integrated Curtis School, 2834 Madison. Brown was married to one woman, but lived with another negress who was the mother of his illegitimate children. School Supt. Hickey is so busy running around the country praising his negro teachers and telling how "successful" integration is that he has no time or interest in their morals. If Hickey were interested in the welfare of the students instead of his fanatical determination to mongrelize them, a brazen adulterer and father of illegitimate children would not have been teaching integrated 6th graders. And Hickey is a church deacon at that.

FIRE WHITES - HIRE NEGROES...St. Louis, Mo. - The WS and the WANS have frequently pointed out that the object of Fair (sic) Employment Practice Commission (FEPC), the Urban League and the NAACP was to have negroes hired instead of Whites and even to have Whites fired from their jobs in order that negroes could take their place. A case in point is the A & P store on Easton near Kingshighway. For a week, negroes have picketed the store demanding that White employees be fired and negroes hired in their place. T. D. McNeal, an NAACP leader who heads the picket line, said: "We intend to close the A & P store on Easton and keep it closed until negroes get a fair share of the jobs in the entire A & P chain." While the Urban League denies participation, at least 2 of its Board Members, Ernest Calloway and T. H. Mayberry, have been seen on the picket line. The A & P and its employees have given hundreds of thousands of dollars to the St. Louis United Fund which supports the Urban League. Now, officials of the Urban League try to close an A & P store.

NEGROES ATTACK RACE-MIXER'S WIFE...New York, N. Y. - Dr. Horace M. Kallen is one of the nation's top "liberals" and is a leading race-mixer. A professor at the socialistic New School For Social Research, Dr. Kallen is the author of many articles supporting integration and condemning segregation. Recently, 2 negroes broke into Dr. Kallen's apartment at 4:00 A. M. They robbed the professor's 67 year old wife and then attempted to rape her. Her screams frightened them away before they were successful. Mrs. Kallen was treated at Knickerbocker Hospital for shock. Dr. Kallen wasn't home. He was giving a series of lectures on integration at Fisk (negro) University at Nashville. Perhaps the negroes who attempted to rape his wife had read some of Dr. Kallen's articles and decided to try a little integration.

"CIVIL RIGHTS" LAWS IN ACTION

REFUSED MANICURE AWARDED \$50...Dayton, Ohio - James Jackson, a 67 year old negro, was awarded \$50 in damages because the barber shop in the Miami Hotel here refused to give him a manicure. The negro had sued for several thousand He charged that Mrs. Wilma Cass, White, had told him she didn't want to handle him. Why a 67 year old negro man should insist on a White woman giving him a manicure is not clear.

In any event, Mrs. Cass's refusal to serve him violated Ohio's "civil rights" laws. White Americans have no rights in the "civil rights" states.

SUE 7 BOWLING ALLEYS FOR \$5,000 EACH...Pontiac, Mich. - Seven bowling alleys were sued for \$5,000 each by 5 negroes who claim they were "discriminated against" in violation of Michigan's "civil right" laws because they were denied permission to bowl. A suit was also filed seeking an injunction to compel the alleys to let negroes use them.

FAILURE TO CUT NEGRO'S HAIR COSTS BARBER \$200... Stockton, Calif. - Archie Manley, a negro preacher, was awarded \$200 in damages because barber Robert Murrillo refused to cut his hair. This violated California's "civil rights" laws. Mr. Murrillo pointed out that a negro's hair is different and that he had never learned to cut it. Municipal Judge William L. Dozier found him guilty and commented: "Well, you must learn to cut a negro's hair. Its the law."

COULDN'T GET CHOICE TABLE - SUE FOR \$2,000...San Francisco, Calif. - Two negroes charged they were "discriminated against" by a waiter at Grotto Nine, a well-known restaurant on Fisherman's Wharf, who refused to permit them to occupy a booth overlooking the wharf "solely by reason of their race and color." The negroes refused to sit anywhere else even when told the choice table was reserved. Their complaint alleges the restaurant follows "a policy of flagrant violation of the rights of colored customers in an effort to humiliate them and discourage their patronage." A suit asking \$2,000 in damages was filed under Sections 51 and 52 of the California Civil Code which forbids racial discrimination.

REFUSED USE OF REST ROOM - HELD FOR GRAND JURY...Belleville, N. J. - When negress Edith Marshall and her 3 children entered Herman's Bar & Grill, they were told by Mrs. Eva Barkei, wife of the owner, that she did not serve children. The negress said they just wanted to use the rest room and Mrs. Barkei told her the toilets were for the use of her customers only suggesting: "Why don't you go to one of your own places?" The negress pushed past Mrs. Barkei and used the toilets anyway. Then Edith filed suit. After a preliminary hearing, Magistrate W. Gilbert Manson ordered Mrs. Barkei held for the Grand Jury.

FORCED TO ASSOCIATE WITH HIS OWN PEOPLE - SUES FOR \$500,000...Chicago, Ill. - The Rev. King S. Range, a negro and pastor of the Range Memorial Baptist Church, filed a \$500,000 damage suit against the Illinois Central Railroad charging that last May 10th he was "humiliated, intimidated, menaced, insulted and forced to occupy 'Jim-crow' facilities on the train City of New Orleans." We don't blame him for not wanting to sit with negroes, but after all he is a negro himself. Imagine, a negro demanding \$500,000 damages because he was forced to sit and associate with his fellow negroes.

ELEANOR IS UNHAPPY...Hyde Park, N. Y. - The Madam of Hyde Park is distressed that a growing number of people are aware of the vital part the Communists play in fostering racial integration. She bitterly complains about letters she is receiving that call the integrationists, Communists. Eleanor has had enough experience with the reds to know that they are for race-mixing. While not every integrationist is a Communist, every Communist is an integrationist. Race-mixing is an important part of Communism's Fifth Column in America. Even Eleanor should know that.

ONE NEGRO ATTEMPTED TO BE HONEST...Memphis, Tenn. - Successful negro businessman and Republican Party boss George W. Lee was quoted in a Memphis paper as saying: "All that I am and all that I hope to be, I owe to the American White man." Later he claimed he had been misquoted and had actually said: "Much of all that I am and much of all I

hope to be, I owe to the American White man." Lee at least attempted to be honest for a time before the NAACP brought pressure. Not only Lee, but every negro in the country owes all that he is or hopes to be to the American White man.

WHITE YOUTHS PERSECUTED... Mineola, Long Island, N. Y. - Four teen-age White boys were arrested; brought into juvenile court; forced to officially disband their club; compelled first to apologize to, then shake hands with the negro head of the local NAACP. Sessions of the Children's Court are usually held in secret with no names revealed. However, this was such a "serious" case involving such "deseradoes" that Judge James N. Gehrig invited reporters into the hearing and gave them the boy's names and addresses. When asked if he wanted to press charges against the boys, William Burke, head of the Long Beach NAACP, said: "We don't want to press any charges. If we did, they would grow up to hate us and that's what we want to avoid." They were then given a tongue-lashing by the Judge who demanded they "apologize to all colored people in Long Beach."

What were the fiendish crimes committed by these youths? Why they had written anti-negro, pro-White slogans on some 200 lids of paper coffee cups and scattered them in negro neighborhoods. It's a wonder they didn't get the death-chair for doing that in "liberal" New York. If they had distributed anti-White, pro-negro slogans, they would have been given medals by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. It has actually become a 'crime' in New York to speak-up for racial integrity - to oppose mongrelization. Judge Gehrig would be a good one for Ike to appoint to the next vacancy on the Supreme Court. He would feel right at home there. How long is the decent, self-respecting, White majority of New York State going to allow themselves to be persecuted, terrorized, discriminated against and intimidated by the highly organized racial minorities.

INTEGRATION CAUSES MONGRELIZATION... Fort Wayne, Ind. - Race-mixers constantly deny that integration will cause cohabitation between the races. They have been very quiet about the vile Fort Wayne situation. A heart broken mother in desperation turned her 17 year old daughter in to police as a delinquent after she refused to stop dating a negro. At the trial the girl, Barbara Baker, openly boasted of having sexual relations with James Bowie, also 17, "about 20 times since school began in September. She refused to stop seeing him when asked to by the Judge who then sentenced her to an indeterminate term in the Indiana Girl's School. The negro received 6 months at the State Penal Farm. Both are students at Central High School. Mrs. Nina Hortman, girls' probation officer, said she knew of at least 40 White girls and 30 negro boys who were dating regularly as well as some White boys and negro girls. She said they meet at school and at inter-racial youth centers where mixed dancing is common.

Are these teen-agers responsible? They are just getting integrated as their clergymen, teachers, politicians and press have been telling them to do - all in the name of "brotherly love, tolerance and equality." Such things are happening in every Northern city that has integrated schools and youth centers promoting inter-racial dancing, except that it is generally hushed up and seldom makes the papers. The adults who cause integrated schools and youth centers are primarily responsible. Our teen-agers are just pawns in their perverted hands.

NEGRO NARCOTIC ADDICTS A MAJOR PROBLEM... St. Louis, Mo. - "Decisive action is needed to curtail one of the City's major problems - narcotics-inspired crime, with spreading drug addiction which threatens to multiply beyond all bounds." Circuit Attorney Thomas Eagleton told a Rotary Club meeting at the Hotel Statler. "Of the known drug addicts

in St. Louis, 90% are negroes," he stated. "The cost of drugs is prohibitive causing its users to turn to crime," he added. Meanwhile major crimes in St. Louis increased 8.2% during 1957. Why dope addiction among negroes is such a problem in the 'integrated' North and no problem at all in the segregated South, has never been answered by the race-mixers.

ROSA PARKS LEAVES... Montgomery, Ala. - The negress who sparked the widely publicized bus boycott here has moved to Detroit. Rosa was anything but the innocent semstress she was pictured to be. She had attended the Communist training school at Monteagle, Tenn., and was well prepared to play the role. She was chosen to violate Montgomery's bus segregation laws and be arrested. This would be the signal to begin a negro boycott of the bus system. Rosa received much publicity and made money-making side show appearances across the nation, but that soon petered out. The boycott movement she and other comrades from Highlander Folk School had started, was taken over by a group of Baptist ministers and there was no room or money for Rosa. Her White customers all left her and negroes wouldn't patronize her either. The hatred and tensions Rosa Parks agitated in Montgomery will remain. The ignorant, emotional negroes who blindly followed her will have to suffer, but Rosa doesn't intend to lie in the bed she made. Having done her damage, she deserted the negroes she led against the White people of Montgomery and fled to Detroit.

AUTHERINE MOVES NORTH... Philadelphia, Pa. - Autherine Lucy, the negress used by the NAACP to cause all the trouble at the University of Alabama, has moved North. After exploiting her to the limit, the NAACP discarded her. She then married a negro minister in Texas. Now she turns up working for a Philadelphia concern making choir robes and pulpit vestments. The Northern press at the time went into great detail of how Autherine wanted a college education. When it became evident that she would not attend the University of Alabama, she suddenly lost all interest in an education. This lends credence to the charges that she never had a genuine desire to get an education - that she was recruited, instigated and paid by the NAACP solely to cause trouble.

UNION CHARGES 'RACE-HATE PROPAGANDA' AS IT LOSES NLRB ELECTION... Chicago, Ill. - When workers of the Northern Electric Products Corp., voted 291 to 86 against the International Union of Electrical Workers, union President James B. Carey cried "fraud." He claimed that during the election campaign the IUE had been called "a nigger-loving union" and that copies of a picture showing him dancing with a negress had been distributed. This, he said caused the IUE to lose the election. Union attorneys have filed objections with the NLRB alleging that "the use of race-hate propaganda prevented the workers from exercising their right to make a free choice of a bargaining agent." The NLRB was asked to set aside the election results and order a new election. If workers in more plants would do the same as was done in the Chicago plant, some of the pro-negro union leaders might change their tunes.

LESS NEGROES IN THE ARMY?... With reduced manpower requirements, the Secretary of Defense has announced the Army will tighten its standards. Only high-type soldiers can operate the complex weapons and equipment developed in recent years. Also the low-type soldier, unresponsive to discipline, unwilling or incapable of assuming responsibility, causes most of the friction between GI's and foreign civilians (see Sept. WS). Substandard GI's account for a disproportionate share of its crime, accidents and incidents. These will be separated from the Army and greater care will be taken to see that this type does not get in in the first place. This will

greatly decrease the number of negroes in the Army and aid in rebuilding sagging morale. However, if the Army wants to actually build an elite service, racial segregation should be reintroduced at once.

SOME FACTS ON ANOTHER NEGRO "HERO"...Trenton, N. J. - Gloria Gilliam, wife of Dodger second baseman, James (Junior) Gilliam, charged in a divorce suit that her husband fathered their oldest child out of wedlock; had attempted to force her to have an abortion; had fathered another woman's child while still married to her. This is one of the sports writers' negro "heroes."

RACIAL FIGHT ENDS IN DEATH...Cincinnati, Ohio - A street fight between a group of White boys and a gang of negroes ended in the death of Carl L. Levell, a negro. Police said the clash was touched off by "bad feeling" between the groups. If this had occurred in the South, it would have made headlines in every Northern daily paper. But since it happened in Ohio, it was completely ignored. Did someone say the

Northern press is "prejudiced?"

NEGRO PRESS ATTACKS GENERAL MOTORS...Because General Motors' TV extravaganza celebrating its 50th Anniversary contained no negro performers, it is being attacked in the negro press. Negroes are being told to buy no more GM cars until 'tan' entertainers are included in all its TV shows. That is good advice for White America also - why buy the products of sponsors whose TV shows feature negroes?

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SPECIAL GUEST ARTICLE

Gerald Afanfryn-Hill, Overseas Editor of The Northlander, a new cultural journal for nationalists of all North European nations, has a view of history substantially different than that found in orthodox history books, today. As he hints, this springs not from ignorance on his part but rather from the cancerous academic rot which is rapidly eating the heart out of the Western world.

Afanfryn-Hill is an ex-jet pilot of the RAF and has served his country in the British Protectorates in the Persian Gulf. As if the article below would not prove his well-rounded tastes, he is also a keen organist and painter.

Here, he tells of the NORTHERN LEAGUE, a fast-growing group of patriots who combine a strong and healthy race nationalism with an enlightened political "international nationalism."



JOIN THE NORTHERN LEAGUE

By GERALD AFANFRYN-HILL

(c/o THE NORTHERN LEAGUE, Hampton Court,
North Queensferry, Fife, Scotland)

Perhaps the most far reaching political trend in the history of the European peoples in the second millenium has been the divorce of nationality and race. Up to the end of the first millenium it was customary amongst our forefathers in Europe to speak of people rather than states, and the elected monarchs were known as Kings of the English, Kings of the Danes or Kings of the Franks rather than King of England, of Denmark or of France. With feudalism, however, there came a rupture with this ancient idea of race-nations, and monarchs were no longer thought of as the father of their people (king-cyning or "father"). Instead they became territorial lords, who leased out the lands they held to tenants in return for fealty and service, and the common peoples became tied to the land on which they were born, mere chattels of the monarchs. Kinship receded into the background as the basis of national ties, and land ownership became all-important. Nationality came to be determined not by descent, not by the common blood ties of a shared biological heritage, but by the accident of geographical location.

At first this seemed merely a step forwards toward more efficient administration, and since the very fact of feudalism prevented persons from moving freely from one district to another, or from the realms of one lord to those of other, so kinship and territorial overlordship went hand

in hand. Eventually, however, the essential divorce which had taken place began to have its effect. Territories became amalgamated or divided by marriages or deaths of the rulers, populations began to migrate, changing their allegiance or "nationality" as they went, and as modern economic forces destroyed feudalism, citizenship and nationality ceased to have anything to do with race, and place of birth became more important in determining the nationality of the child than race or heritage. This meant racial chaos.

What we have to learn, and learn quickly, if we as Europeans are not to be annihilated as a species, is to begin to think in terms of ethnic identity, and pan-national concepts. What we must do is develop a world-wide bond between our own kind, and to avoid being misled into more fratricidal wars. For the past thousand years we have been busy destroying our own kind, while those of other races sit back and laugh at us. When are we going to begin to think in terms of ethnic and racial identity?

The only way to begin is to educate ourselves in those subjects regarding biology and the biological interpretation of history which have been left out of our school syllabus—left out not accidentally but intentionally. Towards this end the successful 40 page bi-monthly journal of North European friendship, *Northern World* (for persons of North American descent *throughout* the world—specimen copy, 50c from 569 Boyd St., Chase City, Va.), was launched two years ago. Now, encouraged by their progress, the supporters of this journal have launched THE NORTHERN LEAGUE, which is a cultural and educational institution aimed at so educating North Europeans. Membership is only \$2 per annum, and entitles members to free copies of the League's monthly news review of race matters throughout the world entitled *The Northlander*; free specimens of all League leaflets (and an unlimited supply of these on request for free circulation to friends); and also the cooperation and advice of the League Secretary in all matters relating to the progress of North European friendship throughout the world.

The League, with its moderate membership fees, is a sure step towards preventing the internecine strife which has torn our people in the past, and also of stopping the threatened annihilation of our kind by assimilation into other and larger groups. And not only is it a cheap way of helping the cause, but its free literature service to members is something which no one interested in White European survival can afford to miss.

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ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

STATES' RIGHTS

RACIAL INTEGRITY

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI November 27, 1958

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Dear Friend:

It is obvious that the years 1959-1960 will be decisive in the South's struggle to maintain its right to self government and racial integrity.

You are aware that additional Civil Rights legislation, and legislation to curb debate in the Senate, is impending in the United States Congress at the insistence of the organized minority groups.

You have seen Southerners subjected to the mailed fist of tyranny at Little Rock. It is one thing to be subjected to tyranny and quite another to submit to it. To their everlasting glory the white citizens of Little Rock did not submit.

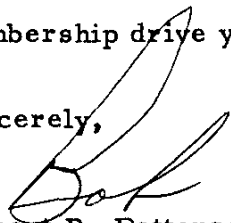
The Citizens' Council is not afraid of the integrationists, but is concerned about the apathy and complacency of its friends who hope that "George will do it," and who have "too little, too late" when the fight reaches them.

If each local organization will bear its share of the burden of financing and supporting your State Association, we will be well prepared for the struggle that lies ahead.

We realize that in the long run, it will be our unyielding fortitude that will impress citizens in other sections of this country-not our lamentations. We realize that the outcome of this battle for survival depends upon the unceasing patriotism, courage and ingenuity of the white South. This means you and me and all of our friends and neighbors. This means organization. It means money to carry on an effective organizational and educational program.

Has your Council started its fall membership drive yet? If not, why not? Let us hear from you!

Sincerely,


Robert B. Patterson
Secretary

RBP:mt

THE LAW OF THE LAND

R. CARTER PITTMAN

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THE LAW OF THE LAND*

R. Carter Pittman†

MONTESQUIEU SAID in his *Spirit of Laws* that in a republic, rulers govern by fixed and established laws while a despot governs according to his own will and caprice without laws or rules. Again he said, "In despotic governments there are no laws; the judge himself is his own rule." But in free states, he asserted, there is a law, and where it is precise, the judge follows it; where it is not, he tries to discover its spirit.

The fundamental difference between a despotism and a republic is how "the law of the land" is made or in whom legislative power is vested, in what the law consists and how it is enforced. On every side one hears that a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is "the law of the land" and must be obeyed by everyone whether he or she was a party to the case or not. Politicians assert the doctrine and call out troops to enforce it. Newspapers and periodicals simplify, distort and perpetuate it. Pulpits echo it, and our children are taught it. Nothing like it has ever been heard in America before. It would seem that declamation has stolen a march on history and found something new.

It was to settle the question as to who should make the law that Charles I and the Earl of Strafford forfeited their heads in the Puritan Revolution and that Lord Chief Justice Jeffries died in London Tower in the Glorious Revolution.

It was to settle forever all questions as to who should make law that the very first sentence of our Constitution was made to say:

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

It was to settle that question that Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution reiterated in its last clause that:

The Congress shall have power . . . to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in

* Much of the material contained herein appears also in an article by Mr. Pittman in 19 Ga. Bar J. 309 (1957).

† Attorney, Dalton, Georgia; author, *The Colonial and Constitutional History of the Privilege Against Self-Incrimination in America*, 21 Va. L. Rev. 763 (1935) and other works.

the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

It was to settle that question that every power of the president beyond the execution of laws of the union enacted by the Congress was spelled out in the Constitution by words so plain that anyone who can read English and knows a smattering of American history can understand.

Section 2 of Article III of the Constitution "extends" the judicial power to "Cases in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority." Article VI of the Constitution defines "the supreme Law of the Land" as: "This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made under the Authority of the United States." Thus Article VI repeats the words of Article III in order that the Judicial Department could never make a valid claim that its decisions in "Cases" are "the supreme Law of the Land." Section 2 of Article III "extends" the "judicial power" to other defined "Cases" and "Controversies," depending upon the laws of nations—or of States—not relevant here. But for that *extension* the courts would have been limited, exclusively, to judging cases involving "the law of the land." Since Article III limits federal jurisdiction to cases, a decision in a *case* becomes the law of the *case*, binding only upon the parties thereto—not "the law of the land," binding upon everyone.

It was to keep federal courts from *making* law under the guise of *finding* law that the framers of the federal Constitution, unlike the framers of our state constitutions, withheld from the federal courts jurisdiction of cases and controversies arising under common law.

A republic is a government in which all laws are established by the immemorial customs of the people or are made by representatives of the people in legislative assemblies. If laws may be established or made by men not elected for such purpose by the people, whatever that government may be called, it cannot be a republic.

Writing in January 1775 in *Novanglus*, No. 7, a treatise on government, John Adams said:

If Aristotle, Livy, and Harrington, knew what a republic was, the British constitution is much more like a republic than an empire. They define a republic to be a *government of laws, and not of men.*

By 1787 the principles of republican government had been so fully discussed in newspapers, in pamphlets and in general works on law and government that the ordinary American layman fully understood that the legislature makes, the judiciary interprets and the executive executes the law in all republican governments. From 1750 until 1791, a favorite subject for discussion in America was government. Microfilms of newspapers of

those years reveal thousands of pages devoted to that subject. During these years more of the common people became expert in the science of government than at any other time in our history.

The following is a portion of a typical essay on government, copied from the front page of the *Virginia Gazette* of September 20, 1783 (four years before the Constitutional Convention). The *Virginia Gazette* copied it from the *Maryland Gazette* of an earlier date. It reveals a deep understanding of the place of the law and the judge in a republic and is sadly prophetic too:

In republican governments, and limited monarchies, many more laws are necessary than in despotic ones: The reason is that in the two former justice is almost mechanical, the judge must apply the letter of the law, from which his judgment must not, nay cannot dissent. He must have either a law, or an established precedent for all his opinions; but in the latter he must consult his own feelings, and gratify his own inclinations in his decisions. In republican governments, and limited monarchies, we must look to the laws for our happiness and safety; but in despotic ones, depend upon the knowledge and integrity of the judge. In the first and second, we have the delegated voice of the whole body politic in favor of a legal decision; but in the third, only the opinion and caprice of a single member of the community, to depend upon for justice.

Republican governments will only be supported while they support justice; because being the most expensive, in order to obtain superior advantages, which if not visible the propriety of adopting another form will be manifest.

Everyone understood in 1787 that the new government, constructed by the Constitution, was to be a republic. The people were so adamant on the point that a guarantee of perpetual republican government in the states was thought appropriate to be inserted in the Constitution itself. So Section 4 of Article IV of the Constitution was made to say:

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Thus the union of states guarantees to every state of the Union that the form of its government shall remain republican, and pledges that the republican state governments shall never be invaded from without. The same section leaves the United States powerless to use federal troops for any other purpose within a state unless called for by the legislature, or by the executive, when conditions are such that the legislature cannot be convened.

A government in which laws may be made by any man or body of men other than those who must obey those laws, or by their representatives in assembly, is a despotism.

The first paragraph of the Georgia Constitution repeats that which many American state constitutions likewise repeat:

All government, of right, originates with the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole. Public officers are the trustees and servants of the people, and, at all times, amenable to them.¹

That provision of fundamental law goes back to the Virginia Declaration of Rights just as does the preamble of the Declaration of Independence which was adopted one month after the Virginia Declaration.

The statement as originally written for the Virginia Declaration of Rights was in these words:

That all power is by God and Nature vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.²

The idea that people may not be forced to obey laws except laws made by themselves or their own representatives is not an American idea—it is as old as liberty itself because without it there can be no liberty. The English colonists in America and in the West Indies insisted at all times under their charters, under the common law, and under their rights as Englishmen, that they could not be governed by any laws except those made by their own representatives. A century before the American Revolution the Attorney General of England held that the colonists could be governed “by such laws only as are made there and established by his majesty’s authority.”³ There was no substantial question raised about the correctness of that view in America until about fifteen years before the American Revolution.

As long as the American colonists were governed only by such laws they were happy and tranquil citizens of the British Empire. The proposition that sovereignty rests in the people and that they are bound by no laws except those they have consented to by themselves or through their representatives was contended for at Runnymede. It was fought for in England during the Puritan Revolution at the very hour when our foreparents first boarded their little ships to come to America. The proposition that kings or courts, or star chambers or judges may make laws for the people was a favorite thesis of the Stuart Kings and of Filmer.

Writing in 1659 on *The principles and maxims concerning government . . . which are asserted by those that are commonly called Levellers*, Thomas

¹ Ga. Code Ann. § 2-101 (1948).
² Rowland, *The Life of George Mason* 434 (1892).
³ 10 Calendar of State Papers, 1677-1680 (Colonial), Nos. 1346-47, at 520-21 (Sainsbury & Fortescue eds., 1896). In general consult Russell, *The Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council 26 et seq.* (1915); Jameson, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania* 208 (1912); 2 Winthrop, *History of New England* 352 (1953); Winslow, *New England Salamander*, in 2 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections 137 (Series 3, 1813).

Brewster outlined the contentions of the Levellers who remained in England to fight to the end in the Puritan Revolution. He said in part:

I. First, they assert it as fundamental that the government of England ought to be by laws, and not by men; they say the laws ought to be the protectors and preservers under God of all our persons and estates, and that every man may challenge that protection as his right

II. The Levellers' second maxim, or principle about government, is that all the laws, levies of monies, war and peace, ought to be made by the people's deputies in parliament, to be chosen by them successively at certain periods of time; and that no council-table, orders, or ordinances, or court proclamations [ought] to bind the peoples' persons or estates; 'tis the first principle of a people's liberty that they shall not be bound but by their own consent, and this our ancestors left to England as its undoubted right, that no laws to bind our persons or estates could be imposed upon us against our wills

III. The Levellers assert it as another principle that every man of what quality or condition, place or office whatsoever, ought to be equally subject to the laws. Every man, say they, high and low, rich and poor, must be accountable to the laws, and either obey them or suffer the penalties ordained for the transgressors; there ought to be no more respect of persons in the execution of the laws than is with God himself if the law be transgressed⁴

The Levellers were not *levellers*. One of the cardinal principles of the Levellers was that representatives of the people are bound "from abolishing propriety, levelling men's estates, or making all things common."⁵ The name "Levellers" was given to them by the minions of arbitrary power in an effort to make them appear odious.⁶

Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, was a Separatist and a Leveller and hence believed in and suffered for those principles of government that were fought for in the Puritan Revolution, the Glorious Revolution and finally in the American Revolution and that eventually became the basis and foundation of republican governments, sought to be perpetuated in our American constitutions. The Levellers in government were Separatists in religion. Since Roger Williams was both a Leveller and a Separatist, he was anti-communist, anti-socialist and pro-God. In 1644 Williams wrote the *Bloody Tenent of Persecution*. His doctrine sounds so American and so familiar now:

⁴ Dunham and Pargellis, *Complaint and Reform in England 679, 680-83 (1938)*.

⁵ Petition to the House of Commons, 11th September 1648, in Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty 338, 340 (1938)*.

⁶ Dunham and Pargellis, *op. cit.* supra note 4, at 680.

[I]n a free state no magistrate hath power over the bodies, goods, lands, liberties of a free people but by their free consents.⁷

Again:

[W]e have formerly viewed the very matter and essence of a civil magistrate, and find it the same in all parts of the world, wherever people live upon the face of the earth, . . . I say the same, essentially civil, both from (1) the rise and fountain whence it springs, to wit, the people's choice and free consent, [and] (2) the object of it, *viz.*, the common weal or safety of such a people in in their bodies and goods, as the authors of this model have themselves confessed.⁸

The concluding sentences of his treatise say:

All lawful magistrates . . . are but derivatives and agents, immediately derived and employed as eyes and hands, serving for the good of the whole. Hence they have and can have no more power than fundamentally lies in the bodies or fountains themselves, which power, might or authority is not religious, Christian, &c., but natural, human and civil.⁹

Thus we see that the Virginia Declaration of Rights and the Declaration of Independence said nothing about sources of power that was not being said by Americans in America 150 years earlier.

After the House of Hanover came to the throne in England and after the American colonies had grown in stature, and particularly after the French and Indian Wars, the kings and ministers of England decided it to be socio-logically proper to govern the American Colonies as ancient Rome had governed her conquered provinces. Colonies were unknown in the world for a thousand years before 1600. Geography stood still that long. England had to seek an ancient precedent because there was no other. Ancient Rome sought to justify arbitrary rule over colonists by asserting that her colonies were conquered provinces and the inhabitants not entitled to human freedom, or even to be consulted about their government. Ancient Rome established and practiced the civil-law rule that government by consent does not apply to a conquered people. Indeed it was conquered people who became the slaves of Rome.

So it was that the ministers of George II and George III insisted that the American Colonies occupied the status of conquered provinces as in ancient Rome, to be governed at the will of kings and ministers by proclamations, instructions, judicial decrees and acts of a parliament that did not represent Americans. That contention was answered in hundreds of state papers prior to the American Revolution. One of the most famous answers was written into the *Fairfax Resolves* by George Mason, who wrote the

⁷ Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty* 285 (1938).

⁸ *Ibid.*, at 288.

⁹ *Ibid.*, at 292.

Virginia Bill of Rights and Constitution, and later the master first draft of the federal Bill of Rights. The *Fairfax Resolves* was carried to Williamsburg by George Washington, where it became a model for the Virginia Resolves and later a model for the Resolves of the Continental Congress. Here are the first and second of those Resolves, adopted at a Fairfax County meeting, of which George Washington was chairman, in the town of Alexandria, Virginia, on the eighteenth day of July, 1774:

1. *Resolved*, That this Colony and Dominion of Virginia cannot be considered as a conquered country, and, if it was, that the present inhabitants are not of the conquered, but of the conquerors. That . . . our ancestors, when they left their native land, and settled in America, brought with them, even if the same had not been confirmed by Charters, the civil constitution and form of Government of the country they came from, and were by the laws of nature and nations entitled to all its privileges, immunities, and advantages, which have descended to us, their posterity, and ought of right to be as fully enjoyed as if we had still continued within the realm of England.

2. *Resolved*, That the most important and valuable part of the British Constitution, upon which its very existence depends, is, the fundamental principle of the people's being governed by no laws to which they have not given their consent by Representatives freely chosen by themselves, who are affected by the laws they enact equally with their constituents, to whom they are accountable, and whose burthens they share, in which consists the safety and happiness of the community; for if this part of the Constitution was taken away, or materially altered, the government must degenerate either into an absolute and despotic monarchy, or a tyrannical aristocracy, and the freedom of the people be annihilated.¹⁰

American colonial records are full of state papers, published before the Revolution, in which our forefathers hammered home the same contention that they and their posterity were entitled to be treated as freemen instead of slaves and that they were entitled to make the laws they should obey. "No taxation without representation" was merely a subsidiary slogan.

Against that background of fundamental principles settled by the American Revolution, is it any wonder that all of the constitutions of the separate states and the Constitution of the United States should provide explicitly, and in language so plain that it may not be misunderstood by anyone, that the people of America may be "governed by no laws to which they have not given their consent by Representatives freely chosen by themselves"?

Most of those in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 had risked their lives, their liberties and their fortunes in the Revolution that had come to a close six years earlier. They knew what they had fought for. They had

¹⁰ Rowland, *op. cit.* supra note 2, at 418-19.

taken up arms to decide not only *who* should govern but *how* they should be governed. Having suffered themselves and knowing the history of the suffering of their forebears and all mankind over the centuries in the struggle for freedom and dignity under the *rule of law* instead of the rule of men, always despotic, is it any wonder that our forefathers wrote into the Constitution of the United States the most important and valuable part of that for which they fought, which was the fundamental principle of the people's being governed by no laws to which they have not given their consent by representatives freely chosen by themselves? They made the Constitution say who should make the laws and how laws should be made. They intended that never again in America should they or their children answer the knock on the door to discover "the law of the land" standing at the threshold.

If a decision or decree or marshal of a federal court had been intended to be "the supreme Law of the Land," our forefathers would have said so in Article VI. A reason why the Constitution defined the "law of the land" was to exclude common law, judge-made law, or law that comes knocking on doors. Luther Martin of Maryland wrote that provision of the Constitution. He hated a government of men as much as John Adams, Mason and Jefferson.

The same section that defines "the supreme Law of the Land" adds clarity in its last clause: ". . . and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding." So the plain and unambiguous words of the Constitution itself make the Constitution, acts of Congress and treaties made in accordance with the Constitution, supreme over "the Constitution or Laws of any State." Nothing else could be supreme over the "Constitution and Laws of any State."

The framers of the Constitution understood that courts exist to apply law—not to make law. In Article VI they made all judges take an oath "to support this Constitution" above laws enacted by Congress, treaties, Supreme Court decisions or anything else that might pass for national law. If decisions are the supreme law of the land, judges appointed to office on account of their philosophy instead of their learning, and unrestrained by God or government, are free to roam at large, tinkering here, experimenting there, and destroying charters and landmarks everywhere. When the framers put judges under oath, gave them nonprecarious tenure and pay and freed them from earthly fears and wants, it was the best they knew to do. They hoped that free judges, owing their freedom to the Constitution, would support it against usurped power.

If there is one thing clear from the history of our people and from the plain words of the Constitution, it is the proposition that a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is *not* "the law of the land." The word "law" is never used in the Constitution in a connotation that might justify the belief that anyone dreamed then that a judge might make law. The word

"law" means law enacted by the representatives of the people of set forth in the Constitution itself or in treaties.

In *Swift v. Tyson*, Mr. Justice Story said for a full bench that:

In the ordinary use of language, it will hardly be contended that the decisions of courts constitute laws. They are, at most, only evidence of what the laws are . . . They are often re-examined, reversed, and qualified by the Courts themselves, whenever they are found to be either defective, or ill-founded, or otherwise incorrect.¹¹

One of many examples of the restricted and precise meaning of the word "law" as used in the Constitution is in clause 3, Section 9, Article I: "No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed." From Jeffries and Scroggs to Warren, no judge ever "passed" a law, without usurpation!

When the Congress was adopting amendments to the Constitution in 1789, the members were just as careful in writing the first sentence in the Bill of Rights as the framers were in writing the first sentence of the Constitution itself. The First Amendment says:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Thus freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and freedom to petition the government for redress of grievances are predicated solely upon the proposition that only the Congress may make federal laws. If the Supreme Court can make laws or if the president can make laws or if you can make laws for me or if I can make laws for you, there is no Bill of Rights, no Constitution, and no republic and all we have is a government of flesh, which is the very definition of a despotism.

Vattel's first maxim of interpretation is that "*it is not allowable to interpret what has no need of interpretation To go elsewhere in search of conjectures, in order to restrict or extend it, is but an attempt to elude it.*"¹² The meaning is in the letter and plain words of our Constitution. The Constitution means exactly what it says.

Thirty-five years ago, the eminent historian of the Supreme Court, Charles Warren, wrote:

However, the court may interpret the provisions of the Constitution, it is still the Constitution which is the law and not the decision of the court.¹³

¹¹ 16 Pet. (U.S.) 1, 18 (1842).

¹² Vattel, *Law of Nations* *244.

¹³ 2 Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History* 748 (1922).

One hundred years before, Chief Justice Marshall said: "Courts are the mere instruments of the law, and can will nothing."¹⁴

The Fifth Amendment, with its due process clause, was adopted December 15, 1791. While it was binding upon the federal government only, it was never thought to forbid slavery in the District of Columbia or elsewhere. It took the Thirteenth Amendment to abolish chattel slavery in the District of Columbia as well as in the several states. On May 17, 1954, in *Bolling v. Sharpe*,¹⁵ the Supreme Court held that the same due process clause of the same Fifth Amendment that did not forbid ownership of Negro slaves by white people in 1864, now requires that the children of the whites go to school with the children of the slaves. If separation of races in the schools of the District of Columbia was legal in 1791 and in 1865 and on May 16, 1954, and unconstitutional on May 17, 1954, what happened to change the law? If the "law of the land" was changed, then the Supreme Court has amended the Constitution and made a law in a manner forbidden by the Constitution.

The Fourteenth Amendment was adopted in 1868. It contains the same due process clause as the Fifth Amendment, as well as a clause providing for "equal protection of the laws," both applicable to the states—not to persons. From 1868 until May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court held repeatedly that neither the due process clause nor the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment forbade the states to maintain separation of races in schools and elsewhere.

We hear much of *Plessy v. Ferguson*,¹⁶ which was decided in 1896, holding that segregation of races is constitutional. We also hear from the apologists for the present Court that it was not by a unanimous bench of the Supreme Court. In *Gong Lum v. Rice*,¹⁷ decided in 1927, the unanimous Court decided that neither due process nor equal protection are infringed by the separation of races enforced by law. That bench was composed of Chief Justice Taft and Justices Holmes, Brandeis, Stone, Van Devanter, McReynolds, Sutherland, Butler and Sanford. If integration of races is now "the law of the land," the Supreme Court usurped the power to make it in a manner forbidden by the Constitution.

When the Fourteenth Amendment was under discussion before the Congress, those with level heads and a smattering of historical knowledge foresaw the day when some new Jeffries or Scroggs or Strafford might come along and use that Amendment as an excuse to establish a judicial despotism in America. That was one reason why the last clause was added to that Amendment. It reads:

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this Article.

That clause is just as constitutional as any other clause. It left nothing to

¹⁴ *Osborn v. Bank of the United States*, 9 Wheat. (U.S.) 738, 866 (1824).

¹⁵ 347 U.S. 497 (1954).

¹⁶ 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

¹⁷ 275 U.S. 78 (1927).

chance, caprice or Warren. Why did the Supreme Court usurp from the people the power to change that Amendment and from the Congress the power to enforce it? The Court blandly held that on all vital constitutional issues we must now look to "modern authority"—modern authority, moreover, which prophetically advocates the abandonment of our Constitution as "impractical and ill-suited for modern conditions."¹⁸

Like the infamous Lord Bute, Prime Minister under George III before the American Revolution, the Supreme Court has found that "the forms of a free and the ends of an arbitrary government are things not altogether incompatible."

Someone has said:

A people indifferent to its past will not long retain the capacity to achieve an honored history.

Charles I is a part of the "past" of our people. We are prone to think of him as a far-off king of a faraway country. We forget that he was America's King from 1625 until he was executed on January 30, 1649. No ruler in American history, or in the history of any people, by example or otherwise, influenced the making of our constitutions as much as did Charles I.

When the Long Parliament resolved to bring Charles I to trial on January 4, 1649, it declared that "the People under God are the Original of all just Powers."¹⁹ The principal count in his indictment, returned on January 20,²⁰ was repeated seven days later in his death sentence. Gruesome as it is, it should inspire awe and hence fit this time and place in American history. Here is a part:

[T]hat he, the said Charles Stuart . . . being trusted with a limited power to govern by, and according to the Law of the Land, and not otherwise; and by his Trust, Oath, and Office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him for the good and benefit of the People, and for the preservation of their rights . . . out of a wicked design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical Power to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, and to take away and void the foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of misgovernment, which by the fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom were reserved on the People's behalf in the Right and Power of frequent and Successive Parliaments, . . . he . . . levied wars against the present Parliament and the People therein represented. . . . For all which Treasons and Crimes this Court doth adjudg That he, the said Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer and public Enemy to the good People of this Nation, Shall be put to death by the severing of his Head from his Body.²¹

*Sic semper tyrannis.*²²

¹⁸ Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* 12 (1944), cited in *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, 494 n. 11 (1954).

¹⁹ 7 Rushworth, *Historical Collections* 1383 (1721).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, at 1396.

²¹ *Ibid.*, at 1418-19 (italics added).

²² Motto of Virginia, adopted October 1779; translated: "Thus be it ever with tyrants."

News and Views

Eternal Vigilance Is Forever The Price Of Freedom

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COLLECTIVISM in the Churches

It's here. The long-awaited book of documentation on the extent to which Communism has infiltrated American churches, theological schools, and religious publishing houses.

The results of ten years of research is a book consisting of 354 pages of the most startling and disturbing information which every church-goer or American citizen should read.

Many people have wondered why an ecclesiastical body, which claims to represent 36,000,000 Protestants, should elect to its highest office, the presidency, at its recent convention in St. Louis, a man who is a veteran frontier for Communist causes, a radical pacifist, and one who is on record as attacking the historic truths and language of the Christian Gospel.

COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES gives not only the answer to these questions but also goes into the historical background of the Socialist Gospel Movement in the United States and reveals that Communists and Communist-Front joiners among religious leaders is not just a mere happenstance. The book reveals that it was all "planned that way," and that some well-known names in "liberal" Protestant circles were not only members of the Communist Party but were also in the highest ruling cliques of the Party and on the committees which planned the destruction of the American form of Government.

Every bit of documentation in the book is footnoted as to original source material, and most of the documentation is taken right from the proverbial "horse's mouth", or the official minutes, correspondence, publications, sermons, books, and public pronouncements of the radicals.

Cries of anguish will, no doubt, go up from the Modernists and Liberals, as this book is circulated throughout the United States. The smear brigade will give it the going over in the journals under their control and through the publications of their sympathetic allies in the secular world. However, if enough laymen, who are paying the bills (the majority, unknowingly) for the situation described in COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES are waked up through this documentation they will change the situation.

Here is the story summarized on the cover of the book:

"A Documented Account of the Political Activities of the Federal, National and World Councils of Churches, COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES, by Edgar C. Bundy.

"Here is a long-overdue, step-by-step account of the left-wing political activities of the Federal, National and World Councils of Churches. The author, a Protestant lay theologian, is the general chairman of the Church League of America. Mr. Bundy has written this book, he says, 'to serve thousands of ministers all over this country who want to get the truth so that they can inform their congregations, but who would have to go to a hundred different sources and overcome all kinds of opposition in their quest.

"He points out what many already know, that 'lay people are concerned both in Council and non-Council churches. They are paying the bills, and they don't want the money to go toward their own destruction.'

"COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES documents the well-planned, determined methods by which the destruction of our basic liberties is being carried on by the Councils — in the name of the 'Social Gospel.' These methods and the policies which direct them have been shaped, says Mr. Bundy, by Socialists and pro-Communists who wish to control the churches and, through them, to spread left-wing propaganda under the guise of religious teaching. To question their mission is 'to question the teachings of Christ,' whom they have called 'the first Socialist.'

COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES gives names, dates, and places. It is a documented response to the efforts being made to substitute social work and political agitation for the spiritual aspirations and traditional values of the Christian churches."

The Foreword to the book summarizes the purpose of writing it:

This book is written by a Protestant. It is written about the Protestant churches. As a Protestant, the author has a right to protest. This right is inherent in Protestant beliefs.

When the distinguished author and lecturer John T. Flynn revealed certain collectivistic trends in Protestant churches in his famous chapter 10 of *THE ROAD AHEAD*, he immediately brought down the wrath of left-wing Protestant leaders and liberals upon his journalistic head. Mr. Flynn's revelations were merely taken from the official pronouncements of *The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America*, with page and paragraph cited, but this did not prevent those who were exposed from attacking Mr. Flynn on the ground that he was a member of the Roman Catholic Church and therefore was incompetent to discuss what was going on in the Protestant world. If this kind of logic is correct, then the man who attempts to murder his wife in the front yard and is discovered by a policeman who rushes in to stop him is justified in telling the policeman to refrain, as he is not a member of the family.

The standard technique used today and down through the ages is not to answer the documentation but to attack the one who does the revealing. In this way they hope to silence him or so to discredit him that the public will not look into the documentation.

The writer of the Gospel of St. John revealed this technique nineteen centuries ago. It is recorded in his 8th chapter that, when the religious leaders of that day would not accept the claims of Jesus Christ as being the Son of God, they launched a fourfold personal smear against Him. In verse 13 they called Him a liar. In verse 19 they questioned His paternity. In verse 41 they insinuated that He was an illegitimate child. In verses 48 and 52 they went as low as any human being could go: they accused Him (the Son of God) of being possessed with the devil.

As the "recognized" religious leaders of the day, heads of a vast ecclesiastical system, they had powerful means of disseminating their propaganda. But He was not "recognized". He was an intruder in their ecumenicity. He took their members away from them—and the receipts in the treasury dropped as a result. They were tied up with the political system of the day and had powerful backing, for they could deliver the "church" vote. He only had a group of "dissenters," "splinter groups," "rabble-rousers," "separatists," and just plain poor folks who worshiped with Him in the fields and on the street corners instead of in the darkness of the temples. He was a force disrupting communal unity. He was a "fundamentalist" who was always quoting Scripture instead of citing their "recognized" professors of theology and social-action chairmen.

The truth is that Jesus Christ was not interested in lobbying before Pilate, Agrippa, or Caesar's government for betterment of social, economic, or political conditions. His Gospel was the Gospel of personal salvation, and to the Herodians he said: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's" (Matt. 22:21)

Jesus left his followers no legacy in the form of material comforts and a high standard of living. He left them only a cross and an eventual crown, to be

obtained through persecution and martyrdom. His charge to them was to preach the Gospel and to make disciples who would follow in his train, regardless of the cost.

How things have changed! The changes are set forth in the pages that follow. "Incredible!" said an outstanding layman after he had read the manuscript. "Maybe church folks should start reading the Bible and find out what Christianity really is!"

Maybe they should.

This thoroughly documented work contains twenty chapters and eleven supporting appendices.

Chapter 1: The Federal Council Is Organized.

The author goes back to the planning stages before the turn of the 20th Century and shows how religious leaders with Marxian and Fabian socialistic ideas, which they imported from European training schools, conceived the idea of bringing all the churches together in a united effort to promote socialism under the guise of "religion". Local church groups were propagandized by travelling "salesmen" in preparation for the initial national organizing meeting.

Chapter 2: The Network Is Planned: City, State, Federal, World Councils

Dedicated organizers create a network from the top on down to the cities for promotion of the new gospel. Lobbying in Washington is not over-looked. The Council wants to tell Christians where they can and where they cannot build churches through a so-called "comity" agreement.

Chapter 3: How Materialistic Collectivism Replaced Christian Faith

The Council of Churches now claims to speak "the mind of Christ", but the reader will find no basis in the Bible for activities into which the Council enters. Our capitalistic society is attacked by the council leaders. "Cooperation" is the term which they use for the replacement of Free Enterprise. Vicious attacks are made by the Council spokesmen on historic Christian doctrines.. Marxism takes over..

Chapter 4: The Octopus Expands

Some churches begin to resist the Council. Some do not join. Individual churches begin withdrawal from their respective denominations rather than be committed to the Federal Council's program. The State and Local councils in affiliation with the Federal multiply. Federal Council seeks support from wealthy foundations and individuals. The World Council of Churches idea is promulgated.

Chapter 5: How The Federal Council Became The National Council

The Federal Council merges with its affiliated agencies and changes its name. The same radical and left-wing leaders are in the drivers' seats of the new organization. The Communist front record of many given.

Chapter 6: The Councils And The Government

Here is a startling chapter on the extent to which these left-wing religious radicals have wormed their way into important government posts and, in a number of instances into policy-making positions. Government leaders take their

cue from Council pronouncements on Foreign Aid, Immigration, Federal Aid, etc., because they claim to represent multiplied "millions" of voters. Left-wing labor groups back the Council and grant it funds.

Chapter 7: Political Peacemakers

Pacifist preachers try to undermine national defense. Unwilling to take realities into consideration. They call disarmament conferences all over the globe and spend Carnegie millions. The League of nations is promoted by the Federal Council. Non-violent resistance of Gandhi becomes latest import from India. Taught in the churches and to youths of draft age.

Chapter 8: Socialistic Seed Sowing

Dr. Harry F. Ward and Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch, both Marxists in their social and economic views, change the emphases and direction of American Protestantism. Exert powerful influence on American religious life through their writings.

Chapter 9: Collaborators With Communism

Government testimony under oath reveals the tie-up of Dr. Ward, Rev. Jack McMichael, Rev. Webber, Dr. Atkinson, and Dr. Taylor with Communist enterprises. Harry Ward became key to the infiltration process. Young men in Union seminary study under him and are recruited for the Communist Party while they are there. Then, they are sent out to take important positions in American churches and religious publishing houses.

Chapter 10: The Planners and Controllers

A department of the Federal Council decides in conference what is best for American economic life. Profits and private ownership hit. The Reuthers enter the picture.

Chapter 11: Church Women Are Collectivized Too

The power of the women is not overlooked in the collectivistic plan of the Councils. Left-wing feminine leaders draw up the resolutions which are presented in the name of "10,000,000 Church Women". Dwight D. Eisenhower graces their platform along with Christ-denying Nels F. S. Ferré, who says that Jesus Christ could have been the son of a blonde German soldier who had an affair with a woman nearby the Roman garrison.

Chapter 12: Mr. Dulles And Some Collectivistic Churchmen

The major role played by the present Secretary of State of the United States in the Council of Churches is laid bare in this chapter. Dulles is revealed as the architect, in the name of "religion", for the destruction of the sovereignty of the United States. Alger Hiss works with him in the Council. The Council presents its radical program to Government leaders and propagandizes the Congress. Churches are instructed to get their people to flood Washington with mail in support of this program.

Chapter 13: The Councils' Secular Activities Multiply

Huge military-like superstructure is built within the national organization. A maze of boards and commissions emerge dealing with everything from immigration to agri-

culture. Congressional investigations into subversion are attacked by Council spokesmen.

Chapter 14: One Church For One World

This is not the church of the Lord Jesus Christ, but rather a huge materialistic political structure masquerading under the guise of "unity". "Brotherhood" and "Fatherhood" become disguises for uniting unbelief with belief. The UN is invoked and praised. Communists are elected as officers in the World Council of Churches. Anything for the sake of ecumenicity!

Chapter 15: The World Council Meets At Evanston

Despite the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Security Law, the Red propagandists come to the World Council of Churches meeting in Evanston, Illinois and sit on the platform with the President of the United States. World Council leaders work behind the scenes in Washington to circumvent security restrictions and get friendly government officials to grant entry to Reds.

Chapter 16: Aftermath of Evanston

Communists win major propaganda triumph and get Assembly of World Council to adopt "peaceful co-existence" theme. Refugees from Iron Curtain countries who picket World Council meeting are ridiculed. Reds strengthen their position in ruling body of world Council by electing double their number to Central Committee. Hungarian Reds invite sympathetic U. S. clergymen to Prague and confer honorary degrees upon them.

Chapter 17: Worship

The church becomes a stage instead of a place of worship. All religions join hands at so-called Festival of Faith at 10th Anniversary of UN in San Francisco. Dulles is main speaker. Mr. Lyons, head of the Religion Desk of the Voice of America, doesn't have to believe in a God in order to hold his job at taxpayers' expense.

Chapter 18: Apostle of Discord

No room for Christ in "Brotherhood Movement". He might offend somebody. The New Testament Scriptures must be changed, also. Ralph Lord Roy the Council's "expert" on its enemies. His book recommended by Council leaders who want to smear the opposition.

Chapter 19: Communications

Bible-believing preachers must be cut off the air and TV. Newspapers must be indoctrinated against the "fundamentalists". The National and World Councils must be the voice of the "church" speaking on all subjects to the world.

Chapter 20: The Laymen Start To Revolt

The report of oilman J. Howard Pew reveals totalitarian tactics of Council clergymen. Laymen expected to raise the money for the Councils' activities, but must not ask questions regarding social, political and economic pronouncements of the clerical hierarchy. Support of independent churches and pastors is the only hope for the Christian church people.

Those are the chapters, filled with documented examples of totalitarian teachings and tactics in the field of religion.

In the eleven appendices are reproduced original documents which enlarge the arguments presented in the main text of **COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES**. These will prove invaluable to laymen, pastors, and Christian workers in general. Every real Christian in America ought to have a copy of this book, and it is hoped that the laymen will see that this is accomplished insofar as possible.

If the church people can be aroused to see how their money and presence are being misused and abused by a handful of powerful exponents of Marxian philosophy, then there is hope for keeping America the "land of the free, and the home of the brave." If this is not done, then the reverse will be true.

Copies may be ordered directly from the Church League of America, 1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois at \$5.00 per copy. Church, School and Civic libraries should be presented with copies of this work.

YOUR ATTENTION PLEASE:

Here is a Bulletin which is of vital interest to every American. This should be distributed in large quantities to church members, ministers, and especially to businessmen who make contributions to churches.

For all Contributions of \$5.00 or more we will send you **NEWS and VIEWS** for one year. Special reports are included with contributions of \$10.00.

Extra copies of a specific issue: \$7 per hundred—\$50 per thousand. If mailed by us to lists you furnish: \$10 per hundred—\$75 per thousand. (Or to special lists we have available.)

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE DEDUCTABLE FROM YOUR FEDERAL INCOME TAX

We urge you to support this educational program which is reaching thousands of laymen who are leaders in all walks of life, and ministers. Get your friends to support us also. Freedom thrives on knowledge. Totalitarianism breeds on ignorance.

The purpose of this Bulletin and all of our other editions is to inform the American people concerning those subversive forces which are methodically penetrating every major phase of our society. Once the American people are informed, they will do something to stop this infiltration. You can help inform them.

CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA
1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois

HOW RED IS THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES?



At a Constituting Convention held in Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 28 to Dec. 1, 1950, the Federal Council of Churches "went underground" by merging with a dozen other interdenominational agencies under the name National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. The Federal Council will not surrender its legal charter, and its aims, programs and leadership are unchanged, although it is operating under a new name.



**READ THE FACTS INSIDE AND
DRAW YOUR OWN CONCLUSIONS**

FEDERAL COUNCIL LEADERS WHO HAVE HELPED COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

These are just a few of the hundreds of present and past officers, leaders and prominent members of the Federal Council who have aided and abetted God-hating, un-American organizations.

(Numbers indicate affiliations with organizations)

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Federal Council Secretary

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Prof., Union Theological Seminary, New York

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Prof., Union Theological Seminary, New York 45, 46

Hugh Chamberlain Burr — 24, 37, 39, 42
Secy., Rochester (N. Y.) Federation of Churches

George A. Buttrick — 23, 24, 37, 40
Minister, Madison Ave. Presbyterian Church, New York

J. Henry Carpenter — 17, 21, 28, 40, 45
Federal Council Secretary

Samuel McCrea Cavert — 24, 37, 40, 46
Federal Council Secretary

Allan Knight Chalmers — 1, 11, 15, 23, 24, 26, 36, 37, 40, 42, 45, 46
Minister, B'way Tabernacle Congregational Church, N. Y. C.

Winifred Chappell — 3, 7, 8, 10, 18, 24, 30, 38
Secy., Methodist Federation for Social Action

Jerome Davis — 1, 2, 6, 7, 10, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29,
Former Prof., Yale Divinity School 35, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 46

Mark A. Dawber — 9, 14, 38, 40
Secy., Home Missions Council, New York

Harold E. Fey — 1, 23, 24, 36, 42, 43
Assoc. Editor, The Christian Century, Chicago

Harry Emerson Fosdick — 1, 23, 24, 26, 29, 45
Ret., Former Prof. Union Theological Seminary, New York

Charles K. Gilbert — 11, 19, 28, 40, 44
Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York

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Methodist Bishop

Ivan Lee Holt — 19, 23, 37, 44
Methodist Bishop, Former Pres. Federal Council

Walter M. Horton — 32, 36, 40
Prof., Oberlin (Ohio) Divinity School

William Lloyd Imes — 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 20, 25, 26, 34, 36, 37, 40
Secy., New York State Council of Churches

F. Ernest Johnson — 17, 28
Federal Council Secretary

Edgar DeWitt Jones — 7, 23, 31, 37
Minister Emeritus, Woodward Christian Church, Detroit

E. Stanley Jones — 7, 45
Federal Council Preacher and Missionary

John Paul Jones — 12, 25, 38, 43
Minister, Union Church of Bay Ridge

Benson Y. Landis — 17
Federal Council Secretary

Henry Smith Leiper — 1, 4, 10, 19, 26, 33
Secy., World Council of Churches, New York

Eduard C. Lindeman — 1, 7, 8, 10, 13, 15, 19, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29,
Prof., Columbia University 33, 37, 39, 46

Halford E. Lucecock — 2, 15, 16, 19, 24, 39, 34, 36, 37, 40, 42, 44,
Prof., Yale Divinity School 46

John Mackay — 5, 40,
President, Princeton Seminary

Francis J. McConnell — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 28,
29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46
Methodist Bishop, Former Pres. Federal Council

J. Howard Melish — 3, 7, 11, 12, 32, 37, 42
Suspended Rector P.E. Church of the Holy Trinity, Bklyn.

Abraham J. Muste — 1, 13, 15, 17, 24, 26, 28, 36, 46
Secy., Fellowship of Reconciliation

James Myers — 1, 11, 17, 24, 38, 39, 43
Federal Council Secretary

Reinhold Niebuhr — 5, 7, 15, 17, 23, 24, 28, 36, 37, 39, 42, 43, 45,
Prof., Union Theological Seminary, New York 46

G. Bromley Oxnam — 1, 9, 15, 24, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37, 40, 46
Methodist Bishop, former Pres. of Federal Council

Kirby Page — 1, 6, 15, 23, 24, 28, 36, 42, 46
Author, Lecturer, former Minister, Disciples of Christ

Edward L. Parsons — 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 23, 27, 32, 33,
Prot. Episc. Bishop of Calif. (Ret.) 34, 37, 40, 44, 45

Edw. McNeill Poteat — 14, 23, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 41, 45
Former President, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School

William Scarlett — 1, 11, 15, 36, 40
Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Missouri

Guy Emery Shipler — 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 14, 19, 22, 25, 36, 37
Editor, "The Churchman"

Ralph W. Sockman — 10, 23, 24, 45
Minister, Christ Church (Methodist) New York

William B. Spofford — 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23,
24, 26, 32, 34, 37, 40, 42, 43
For 25 yrs. Exec. Secy., Church Lea. for Ind. Demcy. (Ret.)

Worth M. Tippy — 7, 19, 30
Former Secy. of Federal Council

Channing Tobias — 3, 4, 7, 9, 16, 21, 32, 34, 38, 40
Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York City

Willard E. Uphaus — 5, 10, 12, 14, 34, 36, 38
Exec. Secy., Natl. Religion & Labor Foundation

Henry P. Van Dusen — 3, 15, 36, 42, 46
President, Union Theological Seminary, New York

Walter Van Kirk — 10, 15, 23, 46
Federal Council Secretary

Harry F. Ward — 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27,
28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44
Prof., Union Theological Seminary, New York (Ret'd.)

Luther A. Weigle — 15, 19, 36, 37, 45, 46
Dean, Yale Divinity School

SOME OF THE RED GROUPS THEY HAVE AIDED

A partial list of the Communist, Communist-front and Socialist organizations with which various officers, leaders and prominent members of the Federal Council of Churches have been affiliated—together with citations from official sources as to the true nature of the organizations.

Note: We have a record of more than 1500 present and former communist, communist-front and socialist organizations and enterprises. Over 550 of these have been officially branded as such by one or more official government investigating bodies.

Only 46 out of this 1500 are listed below. Most Federal Council leaders listed here, and hundreds of other FC men, have been affiliated with many other subversive organizations, sometimes scores of others.

1) American Civil Liberties Union

"The A.C.L.U. is closely affiliated with the communist movement in the United States, and fully 90% of its efforts are on behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press, and free assembly, but it is quite apparent that the main function of the A.C.L.U. is to attempt to protect the communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the government."

Cong'l. Comm. to Investigate Communism (Fish Comm.)

"... is a supporter of all subversive movements; its propaganda is detrimental to the State. It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form."

New York State Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities (the Lusk Committee)

"The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a Communist front or 'transmission belt' organization."

California Committee on Un-American Activities

2) American Comm. for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom

"A Communist front formed to defend Communist teachers."

Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities

"This Communist front was established on Lincoln's birthday in 1939. * * * The activities of this group were always in behalf of Communists. * * * (It) has followed the Communist Party line as it switched and squirmed in support of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia."

California Committee on Un-American Activities

Cited as "subversive and un-American."

Sub-Committee of the House Comm. on Appropriations

3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

Cited as subversive and Communist.

Attorney General Tom Clark

"One of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities

"Among the Communist-Front organizations for racial agitation. Works closely with the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party, in defense of foreign Communists and sympathizers."

California Committee on Un-American Activities

4) American Committee to Save Refugees

Cited as a Communist front.

Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities

"A Communist front operating in the Communist-refugee field. ... has shown interest only in Communist refugees."

California Committee on Un-American Activities

- 5) **American Friends of Spanish Democracy**
 "Organized by the Communist Party for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 Cited as a Communist front.
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 6) **American Fund for Public Service (the Garland Fund)**
 "A major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 Cited as a Communist front.
California Committee on Un-American Activities
 "Contributed more than \$1,500,000, all to the furtherance and support of left-wing Marxist projects. . . . Had, as its trustees, the leaders of the Communist Party in America."
Massachusetts Committee on Un-American Activities
- 7) **American League for Peace and Democracy**
 Cited as subversive and Communist.
Attorney General Tom Clark
 "Established in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union."
Attorney General Francis Biddle
 "The largest of the Communist front movements in the United States. * * * An examination of the program of the American League will show that the organization was nothing more nor less than a bold advocate of treason."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 Cited as a Communist front.
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 8) **American League Against War and Fascism**
 Cited as subversive and Communist.
Attorney General Tom Clark
 "A Communist-front organization. . . established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union."
Attorney General Francis Biddle
 Cited as a Communist front, completely under the control of Communists.
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
- 9) **American Round Table on India**
 "A Communist front headed by Robert Norton, a well-known member of the Communist Party."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 10) **American Youth Congress**
 Cited as subversive and Communist.
Attorney General Tom Clark
 ". . . has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth."
Attorney General Francis Biddle
 "One of the principal fronts of the Communist Party, prominently identified with the White House picket line."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 "One of the most influential front organizations ever established by the American Communist Party."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 11) **Church League for Industrial Democracy**
 (Now named Episcopal League for Social Action)
 An off-shoot of the militant socialist organization, League for Industrial Democracy. The CLID absorbed the Church Socialist League and is a radical pressure group operating within the churches to agitate against Constitutional government and to promote a social order patterned after that of Soviet Russia.
 "Their conventions have been addressed by outstanding Communists. The Church League ceased printing its own propaganda and distributes the pamphlets of the League for Industrial Democracy (a United Front league without the prefix 'Church'). The inference is that the Church League adopts the aims of its non-sectarian counterpart."
Massachusetts Committee on Un-American Activities
- 12) **Citizen's Committee for Harry Bridges**
 Cited as a Communist front, formed to oppose deportation of Harry Bridges, Communist Party member and leader of the disastrous San Francisco general strike of 1934 which was planned by the Communist Party.
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 "Typical Communist created and controlled front organization."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 13) **Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder**
 Cited as a Communist organization.
Attorney General Francis Biddle
 Cited as a Communist front.
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 Cited as a Communist front.
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 14) **Civil Rights Congress**
 Cited as subversive and Communist.
Attorney General Tom Clark
 Cited as a Communist front organization, "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 "A Communist-dominated organization."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 15) **Committee on Militarism in Education**
 Coöperated with Socialist and Communist groups in waging relentless campaign against R.O.T.C. and military training in schools and colleges. Received \$12,400 from the red Garland Fund to propagandize against military training in schools. Opposed National Defense work of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Reserve Officers Association, etc.
- 16) **Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America**
 A conference as a result of which was established the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters for their program."
Attorney General Francis Biddle
 "An important part of the solar system of the Communist Party's front organizations."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 A "Communist-inspired conference" which launched the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties during the Stalin-Hitler pact.
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 17) **Consumers' National Federation**
 Cited as a Communist front.
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 "Created by the Communist Party and used for the purpose of spreading propaganda in schools and through women's clubs."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 18) **Consumers Union**
 Cited as a Communist front "headed by the Communist Arthur Kallet (whose party name is Edward Adams). Ben Gold and Louis Weinstock, both well-known Communists, were also members of the labor advisory committee of Consumers Union."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 Cited as a Communist front.
California Committee on Un-American Activities
 Cited as "subversive and un-American."
Special Sub-Comm. of House Comm. on Appropriations.
- 19) **Coördinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo**
 Cited as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist party and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation.
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 Cited as a Communist front.
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 20) **Conference on Pan-American Democracy**
 (Known also as Council for Pan-American Democracy)
 Cited as subversive and Communist.
Attorney General Tom Clark
 Cited as a Communist front.
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 Cited as a Communist front.
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 21) **Council on African Affairs**
 Cited as subversive and Communist.
Attorney General Tom Clark
 Cited as a Communist front.
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
 "A Communist front organization. Has received funds from American People's fund, a Communist financial organization."
California Committee on Un-American Activities

- 22) **Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace (the Waldorf Conference, sponsored by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions)**
Cited as a Communist front.
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
"A sounding board for Communist propaganda."
Secretary of State Dean Acheson
- 23) **Emergency Peace Mobilization**
"A Communist front which came forth, after Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, to oppose the national defense program."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
"Among the more conspicuous Communist fronts that have defied brazenly the interests of the United States and other freedom-loving nations whenever they have been in conflict with the interests of Soviet Russia and world Communism."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 24) **Fellowship of Reconciliation**
Radical-pacifist group using Christian terms to spread communist propaganda. Circulated petitions for and played a leading role in bringing about the recognition of Russia in 1933. Is a section of the ultra-radical War Resisters International which, according to its literature, "believes a new social order can be and will be established . . . it believes these changes can be accomplished by revolutionary uprisings." . . . Is a branch of International Fellowship of Reconciliation, which says "we must work for a radical reorganization of society" and insists that "the class war is a fact."
- 25) **Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade**
"In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations. Among these was the above Communist-front organization."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
- 26) **Greater New York Emergency Conf. on Inalienable Rights**
Cited as a Communist front, one of a "maze of organizations spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general, but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
Cited as a Communist front.
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 27) **Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee**
Cited as subversive and Communist.
Attorney General Tom Clark
A "Communist-front organization."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
Cited as a Communist front. "The sponsors and officers . . . with few exceptions are admitted Communists and fellow travelers. The policy is in concert with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 28) **League for Industrial Democracy**
"Founded as a militant socialist organization and subsidized by the Communist-directed Garland Fund, the League for Industrial Democracy propagandizes particularly among college and seminary students. Its publications have largely been written by members of the Communist Party and its supporters. Their objects of attack have been those pursued by the Young Communist League and kindred organizations—against military training in schools and against the evils of the capitalist system. The achievements of the workers' government in Soviet Russia are painted in gilded eulogy, and similar socialism is advocated for the United States."
Massachusetts Committee on Un-American Activities
- 29) **League of American Writers**
Cited as subversive and Communist.
Attorney General Tom Clark
Cited as a Communist front.
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
"The most naive spectator and quarter-witted participant of this first Writers' Congress (at which the League of American Writers was formed) could not have been deceived as to its Communist revolutionary character."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
"In the Daily Worker of April 20, 1935, it is stated that another organization was set up to be known as the League of American Writers, membership limited to revolutionary writers."
Massachusetts Committee on Un-American Activities
- 30) **Methodist Federation for Social Action**
(Formerly, Methodist Federation for Social Service)
"A tool of the Communist Party. It is trying to use the prestige of the Methodist Church to promote the line of the Communist Party."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
"Among the more conspicuous fronts for Communist activity in the field of relief, assistance, and welfare work. * * * A statement in their Social Service Bulletin No. 8, 1932 admits coöperation with the Communists."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 31) **Michigan Civil Rights Federation**
Cited as a subversive and Communist organization which has been succeeded by and now operates as the Michigan Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress.
Attorney General Tom Clark
Cited as a Communist front.
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
Cited as a Communist front.
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 32) **National Council of American-Soviet Friendship**
Cited as subversive and Communist.
Attorney General Tom Clark
"In recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian has been known as the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
"Is a direct agent of the Soviet Union, engaged in traitorous activities under the orders of Stalin's consular service in the United States."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 33) **National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights**
Cited as a Communist front.
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
Cited as a Communist front organization defending Communists. "It was filled from top to bottom with veteran Communist Party liners."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 34) **National Federation for Constitutional Liberties**
Cited as subversive and Communist.
Attorney General Tom Clark
"Part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program. The defense of Communist leaders have been major efforts of the federation."
Attorney General Francis Biddle
"There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—regardless of its high-sounding name—is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
"One of the most important Communist-front organizations."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 35) **National Negro Congress**
Cited as subversive and Communist.
Attorney General Tom Clark
"The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. * * * The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
A "Communist-dominated mass organization."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 36) **National Religion and Labor Foundation**
Set up by radicals, in 1932, to propagandize "the new social order;" to give active cooperation to strikers, at the same time seeking the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system. Its directing personnel and National Committee were composed almost exclusively of Socialists and Communists. Writing in its official organ, one of its officers says: "It is no longer a question of the need of revolution; the question is as to the method of bringing the revolution to pass." It has published blasphemous and atheistic literature.
- 37) **North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy**
Cited as a Communist front.
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
Cited as a Communist front.
California Committee on Un-American Activities

(continued on back page)

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Prof., Union Theological Seminary, New York 45, 46

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Minister, Madison Ave. Presbyterian Church, New York

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Secy., Methodist Federation for Social Action

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Mark A. Dawber — 9, 14, 38, 40
Secy., Home Missions Council, New York

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Methodist Bishop

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Prof., Oberlin (Ohio) Divinity School

William Lloyd Imes — 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 20, 25, 26, 34, 36, 37, 40
Secy., New York State Council of Churches

F. Ernest Johnson — 17, 28
Federal Council Secretary

Edgar DeWitt Jones — 7, 23, 31, 37
Minister Emeritus, Woodward Christian Church, Detroit

E. Stanley Jones — 7, 45
Federal Council Preacher and Missionary

John Paul Jones — 12, 25, 38, 43
Minister, Union Church of Bay Ridge

Benson Y. Landis — 17
Federal Council Secretary

Henry Smith Leiper — 1, 4, 10, 19, 26, 33
Secy., World Council of Churches, New York

Eduard C. Lindeman — 1, 7, 8, 10, 13, 15, 19, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29,
Prof., Columbia University 33, 37, 39, 46

Halford E. Luccock — 2, 15, 16, 19, 24, 30, 34, 36, 37, 40, 42, 44,
Prof., Yale Divinity School 46

John Mackay — 5, 40,
President, Princeton Seminary

Francis J. McConnell — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 28,
29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46
Methodist Bishop, Former Pres. Federal Council

J. Howard Melish — 3, 7, 11, 12, 32, 37, 42
Suspended Rector P.E. Church of the Holy Trinity, Bklyn.

Abraham J. Muste — 1, 13, 15, 17, 24, 26, 28, 36, 46
Secy., Fellowship of Reconciliation

James Myers — 1, 11, 17, 24, 38, 39, 43
Federal Council Secretary

Reinhold Niebuhr — 5, 7, 15, 17, 23, 24, 28, 36, 37, 39, 42, 43, 45,
Prof., Union Theological Seminary, New York 46

G. Bromley Oxnam — 1, 9, 15, 24, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37, 40, 46
Methodist Bishop, former Pres. of Federal Council

Kirby Page — 1, 6, 15, 23, 24, 28, 36, 42, 46
Author, Lecturer, former Minister. Disciples of Christ

Edward L. Parsons — 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 23, 27, 32, 33,
Prot. Episc. Bishop of Calif. (Ret.) 34, 37, 40, 44, 45

Edw. McNeill Poteat — 14, 23, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 41, 45
Former President, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School

William Scarlett — 1, 11, 15, 36, 40
Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Missouri

Guy Emery Shipler — 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 14, 19, 22, 25, 36, 37
Editor, "The Churchman"

Ralph W. Sockman — 10, 23, 24, 45
Minister, Christ Church (Methodist) New York

William B. Spofford — 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23,
24, 26, 32, 34, 37, 40, 42, 43
For 25 yrs. Exec. Secy., Church Lea. for Ind. Demcy. (Ret.)

Worth M. Tippy — 7, 19, 30
Former Secy. of Federal Council

Channing Tobias — 3, 4, 7, 9, 16, 21, 32, 34, 38, 40
Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York City

Willard E. Uphaus — 5, 10, 12, 14, 34, 36, 38
Exec. Secy., Natl. Religion & Labor Foundation

Henry P. Van Dusen — 3, 15, 36, 42, 46
President, Union Theological Seminary, New York

Walter Van Kirk — 10, 15, 23, 46
Federal Council Secretary

Harry F. Ward — 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27,
28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44
Prof., Union Theological Seminary, New York (Ret'd.)

Luther A. Weigle — 15, 19, 36, 37, 45, 46
Dean, Yale Divinity School

SOME OF THE RED GROUPS THEY HAVE AIDED

A partial list of the Communist, Communist-front and Socialist organizations with which various officers, leaders and prominent members of the Federal Council of Churches have been affiliated—together with citations from official sources as to the true nature of the organizations.

Note: We have a record of more than 1500 present and former communist, communist-front and socialist organizations and enterprises. Over 550 of these have been officially branded as such by one or more official government investigating bodies.

Only 46 out of this 1500 are listed below. Most Federal Council leaders listed here, and hundreds of other FC men, have been affiliated with many other subversive organizations, sometimes scores of others.

1) American Civil Liberties Union

"The A.C.L.U. is closely affiliated with the communist movement in the United States, and fully 90% of its efforts are on behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press, and free assembly, but it is quite apparent that the main function of the A.C.L.U. is to attempt to protect the communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the government."

Cong'l. Comm. to Investigate Communism (Fish Comm.)
"... is a supporter of all subversive movements; its propaganda is detrimental to the State. It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form."

New York State Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities (the Lusk Committee)

"The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a Communist front or 'transmission belt' organization."

California Committee on Un-American Activities

2) American Comm. for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom

"A Communist front formed to defend Communist teachers."

Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities

"This Communist front was established on Lincoln's birthday in 1939. * * * The activities of this group were always in behalf of Communists. * * * (It) has followed the Communist Party line as it switched and squirmed in support of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia."

California Committee on Un-American Activities

Cited as "subversive and un-American."

Sub-Committee of the House Comm. on Appropriations

3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

Cited as subversive and Communist.

Attorney General Tom Clark

"One of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities

"Among the Communist-Front organizations for racial agitation. Works closely with the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party, in defense of foreign Communists and sympathizers."

California Committee on Un-American Activities

4) American Committee to Save Refugees

Cited as a Communist front.

Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities

"A Communist front operating in the Communist-refugee field. ... has shown interest only in Communist refugees."

California Committee on Un-American Activities

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL PROMOTES SOCIALISM

In many official pronouncements, the Federal Council has attacked free enterprise, capitalism and the American way of life, and has boldly advocated Socialism.

In an official report in 1932, the Federal Council stated: "The Christian ideal calls for hearty support of a planned economic system. . . . It demands that cooperation shall replace competition as a fundamental method."

At a full meeting in Indianapolis in December, 1932, the Federal Council adopted unanimously this Socialist creed: "The churches should stand for social planning and control of the credit and monetary systems and the economic processes."

The following year, 1933, the Council officially declared: "The Christian conscience can be satisfied with nothing less than the complete substitution of motives of mutual helpfulness and good will for the motive of private gain."

The Federal Council has not changed since then. This anti-free enterprise, anti-profit attitude is still its fundamental policy. In Cleveland in January, 1945, they again attacked the right of private property as an absolute freedom, and further stated, "Many changes may be necessary in our economic practices. These changes will probably lie in the direction of a larger measure of social planning and control than characterized our pre-war system."

In 1948 at Amsterdam, the World Council of Churches, which is dominated by the Federal Council and was attended by most of its leading lights, adopted this resolution:

"The Christian Churches should reject the ideologies of both Communism and laissez-faire Capitalism." (Note: The resolution which was first adopted did not have the words "Laissez faire." These were added next day to "tone down" the resolution after unfavorable repercussions began to pour in.)

These are just a few illustrations which prove that the Federal Council believes in, preaches and advocates Socialism, and is completely opposed to the American (and Christian) system of Individual Freedom.

MANY OF ITS PREACHERS ARE COMMUNISTS

Communism is materialistic, godless and intensely anti-Christian. It not only atheistically denies the existence of God; but it also carries on a vigorous and vicious campaign, militantly teaching hatred of God. It is almost inconceivable that ministers of the gospel of Christ could be found chummyly associating with Communists and lending aid and comfort to communist organizations—yet they do—by the thousands (see opposite page for a few notable examples).

A large number of the clergy affiliated with the Federal Council repeatedly preach that Communism is an advanced form of democracy; that it is the desirable next step in the forward progress of our society; that Communism and Socialism are the "new social order" and express more nearly than capitalism the true brotherhood of man; that they bring us closer to the realization of the ideals expressed by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount; that Russia is the land where all social and economic problems have been solved, where inequality, poverty and want have been abolished.

EVEN MORE ARE FELLOW TRAVELERS

While some affiliated with the Federal Council are undoubtedly members of the Communist Party, most of those who have been actively aiding and abetting Socialism and Communism are fellow travelers rather than actual members of the party.

However, it must be remembered that fellow travelers are more dangerous to America than outright Communists. It is generally they who lend an air of respectability to the vicious, debased movement that is Communism, and it is they who bring into communist fronts the innocents and dupes without whose aid, encouragement and financial support the front could not exist. It has been well said that a fellow traveler is a Communist without courage—one who believes in the principles of Marxism but without the intestinal fortitude publicly to join the party.

Under our code of laws one who aids and abets a criminal is just as guilty as the one who commits an overt crime. Anyone, be he minister or layman, who knowingly aids and abets the God-hating enemies of America and Christianity is just as guilty and just as un-American as a Communist.

J. Edgar Hoover: "I confess to a real apprehension, so long as Communists are able to secure ministers of the gospel to promote their evil work."

NAVAL INTELLIGENCE CONDEMNS FEDERAL COUNCIL

United States Naval Intelligence in 1935 reported that the Federal Council of Churches was subversive and was one of the strongest of the organizations "which while not openly advocating the 'force and violence' principles of the Communist Party give aid and comfort to the communist movement and party. . . . It is a large radical pacifist organization and probably represents 20,000,000 Protestants in the United States. However, its leadership consists of a small radical group which dictates its policies. It is always extremely active in any matters against national defense."

Since that time the activities and policies of the Federal Council have not improved one whit.

WHAT SOME FEDERAL COUNCIL LEADERS HAVE SAID ABOUT COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM

"Is it not probable that the greatest event of the 20th Century thus far is the Soviet Revolution and all it has meant to human welfare?" (Prof. Jerome Davis, long time member of the Federal Council inner circle.)

"It is my conviction that one cannot be a Christian, if he must function within a society where self-interest and personal profit are the dynamic of industrial life." (Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, Chairman Federal Council's Department on the Church and Cooperatives.)

"The principle of competition seems to be nothing more than a partly conventionalized embodiment of primeval selfishness." (Samuel McCrea Cavert, Genl. Secy. of Federal Council, in an official Council publication.)

"When the Western world was floundering in an unjust and competitive order . . . God reached out and put his hand on the Russian communists to produce a juster order and to show a recumbent church what it has missed in its own gospel." (E. Stanley Jones, Federal Council-sponsored preacher and speaker.)

"The Christian religion is not a suitable religion for today." (Eduard C. Lindeman, Federal Council Commission on research, and editor 1939 and 1940.)

"The Soviet Union is progressing and growing up economically and politically since the time of the Czars, while capitalist society is starving and going down." (Harry F. Ward in a radio broadcast May 21, 1946.)

"Denominationally, I am a Presbyterian; religiously a Unitarian; and politically, I'm a Communist. I'm not preaching to make people good or anything of the sort. I'm in the church because I can reach people easier that way and get them organized for Communism." (Rev. Claude C. Williams, a confessed Communist Party member, Director of People's Institute of Applied Religion, and long-time intimate of prominent Federal Council personalities.)

"The only way out is an economic order which increasingly eliminates the profit motive." (Edward L. Parsons, Bishop of California.)

HERETICAL APOSTASY OF SOME TOP FC LEADERS

"God for us cannot be . . . an . . . avenging Being who because of Adam's sin must have his Shylockian pound of flesh. No wonder the honest boy in justifiable repugnance could say, 'dirty bully.'" (Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, FC President, 1944-46, "Preaching in a Revolutionary Age," page 79.)

"Of course, I do not believe in the Virgin Birth, or in that old fashioned substitutionary doctrine of the atonement." (Dr. Harry E. Fosdick—for years FC radio speaker—in a letter, January, 1945.) ". . . the theology of our forefathers is an insult to our intellect." (Fosdick on radio)

"Literal infallibility of Scripture is a fortress impossible to defend: there is treason in the camp. Probably few people who claim to 'believe every word of the Bible' really mean it. That avowal held to its last logic would risk a trip to the insane asylum." (Dr. George A. Buttrick, FC President, 1940-42, "Christian Fact and Modern Doubt," page 162.)

BE ALERT FOR FC'S DISHONEST DENIALS

In the past when some notorious Communist fellow traveler connected with the Federal Council has been criticized, the Federal Council has issued weasel-worded denials of such connection. They have even had the dishonesty to assume an air of indignation and protest that Bishop Francis J. McConnell had no connection with the Federal Council. Bishop McConnell was for years president of the Federal Council, and for many additional years was one of the leading members of the inner circle. Every name listed herein is or has been intimately connected with the Federal Council, most of them in high positions.

(continued from inside pages)

- 38) Peoples Institute of Applied Religion
Cited as subversive and Communist.
Attorney General Tom Clark
"One of the most vicious Communist organizations ever set up in this country."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
- 39) People's Lobby
Its slogan, according to its officers, "To balance consumption and production by eliminating profit;" its program, "Increased taxation of the rich; socialization of ground rent and reduction of interest rates as steps towards the elimination of profits; public ownership of banking, natural resources, transportation, communication and all basic industries; government marketing and government housing corporations."—This program is in accord with the Socialist-Communist system of Russia.
- 40) The Protestant (Formerly known as Protestant Digest)
"A magazine which fanatically spreads Communist propaganda under the guise of being a religious journal."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
A "Communist publication."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 41) Schappes Defense Committee
"A front organization with a strictly Communist objective, namely, the defense of a self-admitted Communist who was convicted of perjury in the courts of New York."
Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities
"Among typical front organizations for the defense, honor or support of known Communists."
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 42) Socialist Party
Insofar as ultimate ends are concerned, there is no distinction between Socialism and Communism. Socialists seek to take over the government by legislative means, if possible, resorting to a throat-cutting revolution only as a last resort. Many Communist leaders of today got their training in the Socialist Party. Socialists and Communists cooperate in many specific activities on a United Front basis. Earl Browder, former General Secretary, Communist Party, explains: "The program of the Socialist Party and the program of the Communist Party have a common origin in the document written by Karl Marx and Friederich Engels in 1847-1848, known as the Communist Manifesto. There is no difference, so far as the program is concerned, in its final aim. The differences between the Socialist and Communist parties are gradually being eliminated, and one unified Socialist or Communist movement is emerging."
- 43) United Christian Council for Democracy
A United Front movement, sponsored by leading Socialist, Communist and radical leaders in the churches. Its purpose, according to its official statement, was "to draw together the different left wing groups into a United Front Movement." One of its major activities in 1945 was a militant campaign against the Dies Committee Investigating Un-American Activities."
- 44) Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo
Cited as a Communist front.
California Committee on Un-American Activities
- 45) Signer of "World Tomorrow" Poll
Voted in favor of Socialism, a drastic increase in inheritance and income taxes, a "coöperative commonwealth" instead of capitalism.
- 46) War Resisters League
American affiliate of the revolutionary Socialist-Communist War Resisters International. Its pledge for enrollment says: "I declare it to be my intention never to take part in war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, whether it be by bearing arms, making or handling munitions, voluntarily subscribing to war loans, or using my labor for the purpose of setting others free for war service." One of its slogans is: "To unite men and women who have determined to give no support to any war, irrespective of the reasons." The League co-sponsors numerous communist-controlled movements and programs of Communist-dominated organizations.

THE CHURCH BODIES WHICH CONSTITUTE THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION
AUGUSTANA LUTHERAN CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN
COLORED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST
DANISH EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH
EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH
EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH
EVANGELICAL UNITY OF CZECH MORAVIAN BRETHREN IN N.A.
FRIENDS - FIVE YEARS MEETING
FRIENDS OF PHILADELPHIA AND VICINITY
METHODIST CHURCH
MORAVIAN CHURCH (NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN PROVINCES)
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U.S.A., INC.
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA
ROUMANIAN ORTHODOX EPISCOPATE OF AMERICA
RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN AMERICA
SEVENTH DAY BAPTISTS, GENERAL CONFERENCE
SYRIAN ANTIOCHIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH
UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF AMERICA
UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF N.A.

The National Council claims to represent 28,000,000 Protestants. If the church to which you belong is a member of one of these bodies, they claim to represent you.

Does it represent you? Do you believe that American Free Enterprise should be scrapped and replaced by Socialism? The National Council does. Do you agree with the un-American, un-Christian policy of the hierarchy of the National Council?

If you don't there are several things you can do about it:

1.) Insist that your church stop supporting the National Council. Don't let it give one dollar. The National Council receives large sums from various Jewish and other non-Christian or anti-Christian groups, so while the withdrawal of your church's support won't put them out of business, it will hurt them. If all real Christian churches withdrew, it would seriously cripple them.

2.) Join this organization and help remedy the situation.

3.) In this short space it is impossible to show in detail the apostasy, Socialism and Communism of the National Council of Churches. There are three excellent books and several pamphlets which go into the subject with great thoroughness. They are must reading for everyone interested in restoring the Protestant churches to the faith of our fathers:

Books

"Collectivism Challenges Christianity", Kaub, \$2.00

"God and Man at Yale", Buckley, \$3.50

"Ecclesiastical Octopus", Gordon, \$2.00

Send \$1 for an assortment of pamphlets on the subject.

4.) This is the atomic age! Start "chain reactions" by circulating this chart.

Two copies 25¢; 10 copies \$1; \$7.50 per 100; \$60 per 1,000. All shipping charges prepaid. Special discount to churches.

American Council of Christian Laymen

122 W. Washington Avenue

Madison 1, Wisconsin

Christian Americans must act vigorously and promptly
or their churches will become no more than wings
of the Communist-Socialist movement.



Educational Fund of The Citizens' Councils

STATES' RIGHTS A NON-PROFIT CORPORATION RACIAL INTEGRITY

Greenwood, Mississippi

February 24, 1958

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PASCAGOULA
- J. E. STOCKSTILL
PICAYUNE

TO ALL COUNCIL OFFICERS AND MEMBERS:

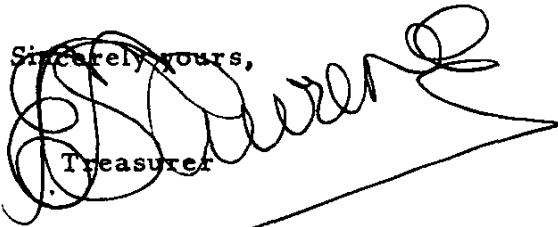
Up until this year the Delta section has furnished 76 per cent of the funds for the operation of the Councils.

In Leflore County, and it's the same in every Delta county, we are short at least one-third in our cotton crop, and what we did raise brought 30 per cent less than last year. We fared even worse on the seed.

This means that we are going to have to call on other sections of the state to make up the difference. In Brookhaven Hon. Hugh V. Wall suggested in each county a committee to raise money, and got Mr. George Gulley, Jr., to head it in Brookhaven and Lincoln County. I think that in every community the same thing should be done.

Now if you will find someone to take this over, in your community and furnish us a list of names, we will be glad to write a letter laying the groundwork for you and the committee.

We have reason to believe that we will, or at least should, have more members in 1958 than in 1957. If you will push your membership drives and get your membership dues in to us real soon, it will help.

Sincerely yours,

 Treasurer

* BONDED



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Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Community and in our State and to the preservation of our State's Rights.

TAYLOR, POWELL, WILSON & HARTFORD

CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

NELSON E. TAYLOR, C. P. A.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
C. E. POWELL, C. P. A.
E. C. WILSON, C. P. A.
ROBERT W. HARTFORD, C. P. A.
ATTORNEY AT LAW

December 14, 1956.

Educational Fund of the Citizens Councils, Inc.
Greenwood, Mississippi.

Attention: E. Lawrence.

Dear Ellett:

In accordance with your request I have carefully reviewed the purposes for which the EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE CITIZENS COUNCILS, INC., was organized and have also discussed with you and Mr. Patterson in detail the method of operation and nature of expenditures of this new organization.

In my opinion this corporation should be exempt from income tax under section 501 (c) (3) of the 1954 IRC and contributions to the corporations should be deductible by the donors as provided in section 170 IRC 1954.

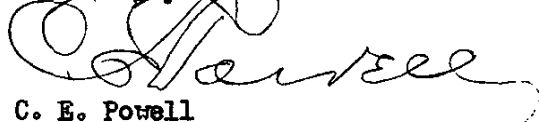
In connection with the exemption which I feel is due and will be granted to this EDUCATIONAL FUND I am quoting below one paragraph from a letter dated 12-7-55 and signed by H. T. Swartz, Director, Tax Rulings Section, Internal Revenue Service, Washington, D. C.

'The Service did hold a number of years ago that contributions to the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., were deductible as provided in section 23 (o) and (q) of the IRC of 1939 (Section 170 of the IRC 1954)'.⁹

Mr. Swartz's letter was addressed to Senator Stennis and I am sure the exemption granted NAACP. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., has not and will not be revoked.

I will be glad to assist your organization in establishing its exemption under section 501 (c) (3) and also, without charge, any individual or corporation donor whose right to deduct contributions to the EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE CITIZENS COUNCILS, INC., is challenged by the Internal Revenue Service.

Sincerely yours



C. E. Powell

The above is a Photo-Lith. copy.

(over)

SPECIAL GUEST ARTICLE



In this age of the cynic and the "beat generation," most people are afraid to be known as idealists. Such timidity is perhaps understandable if it is realized that—generally speaking—idealism today is sterile because it is intellectually bankrupt. After all, one must face the facts of life. It might be said that only a schizophrenic can be a sincere idealist today. The rest of us are afraid to believe. Conformity is the easiest way out.

It is this that makes the idealism of Edward Langford and a growing band of others of such interest. For this idealism, speaking a new language, has a youthful vitality which only scientific and historic realities can impart. One does not need to be a recluse or a fool to be an idealist, Langford seems to say.

Langford, an extensive traveller since his retirement from Britain's Indian Army, in which he served as an officer, is well-suited, both by intellect and experience, for the subject which he covers below. His articles regularly appear in Northern World, a new magazine dedicated to broadening understanding between the related peoples of northern Europe.

RACE SCIENCE: IDEALISM FOR THE FUTURE

By EDWARD LANGFORD

Clear thinking on Race and Eugenics? I suppose it is rather early to expect the mass of mankind to accept such ideas. Although a number of early peoples did practice a crude form of eugenics—the Spartans for one and the Indo-Aryans for another—and the agricultural revolution in eighteenth century Europe was based on ideas of selective breeding of both plants and animals, yet the true significance of biological forces has only been appreciated since the nineteenth century, with the development of the theory of evolution and the discovery of Mendelian heredity. What is more, these scientific views have come on the stage at a time when sentimentalism is deeply rooted in the public mind, and "internationalists" preach the equality of man, regardless of biological inequalities, and try to prove that one CAN get a silk purse out of a sow's ear—in direct contradiction to the ancient Teutonic folk-dictum. Yet unless something is done, and done quickly, it seems that mankind, with its mania for race-mixing (largely the product of the blind war-propaganda of the 1939-45 war) intends to throw away its heritage, renounce the future, and consign progress to the limbo.

For those who still feel a loyalty beyond the limits of their own generation, for those who feel a loyalty to the untold generations which are still to come, who thrill to the story of man and the greatness of human achievement, to those who would yet see a bright future for mankind, and who would yet build that "brave new world" of which we have dreamed for so long, there can be only one answer—we must at all costs protect the biological heritage that is within us. Environmental care and improved schooling

techniques for backward children can do much for below-standard individuals, but environment can only work between limits which are determined by biology and heredity. It is up to us to focus attention away from the present sentimental fixation on the handicaps of those who are backward, and focus it *onward*, instead, to the welfare and well-being of the untold generations which are yet to come in the future. To allow our ideas to become fixed in the present generation is sheer selfishness, we have to be prepared to tighten our belts today for the sake of the generations of tomorrow. When we die we cease "to be" as individuals, perhaps, but the life that was in our bodies carries on in that of our children, the life which is in our nation continues, and it is therefore up to us to ensure that that life is clean, pure and healthy. Marriage, home and family is not just something that follows automatically after a romantic sexual liaison formed casually while on vacation, as Hollywood would sometimes have us believe. It is much more than that, it is our duty to the past and our duty to the future, the link which joins us to history and ties us to eternity, and the care with which we make our choice of a partner is far and away the most real and important moral duty we possess.

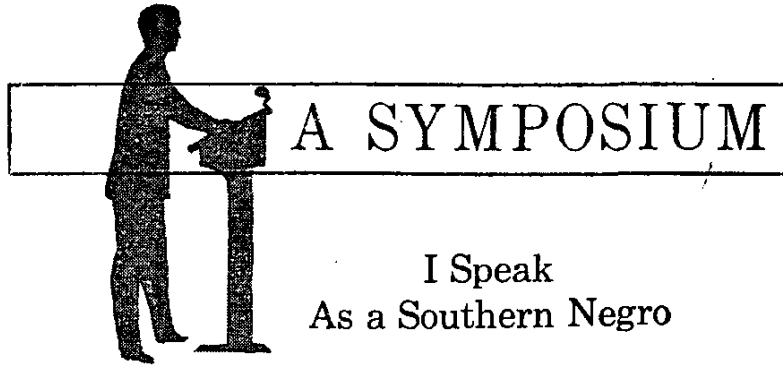
To think and practice eugenic and racial morals ourself is our duty, but this is not enough in the troubled state of the world today. It is necessary for each and every one of us to work to bring these ideas home to our fellow beings. We must talk and write about eugenics and race; we must help to make the ideas "fashionable" as quickly as we can. Let there be no confusion, also, between the two ideas—for basically they are one and the same. A race is a group of individuals who possess a similar genetic heritage, and who when crossed are capable of breeding true. A race is consequently pure or impure according to its ability to breed true, and to produce its own kind. Biological accidents do occur, and these may result in the defects which eugenics seeks to remove from the mainstream (not necessarily by inhumane means), but differences in emotive, intellectual and physical constitution, where not acquired, are largely racial, the product of the importation of inferior bloodstock. Today mankind, in the conceit of new knowledge and new technological power, seeks to destroy the biological and evolutionary structure on which the whole edifice of human progress is raised, and seeks to discard the work of thousands of generations of evolutionary specialisation and shaping. We can only prevent the destruction of this edifice if we take it upon ourselves to overcome our inherent shyness of such topics, to forget that we might possibly say something that might offend our neighbors, and start talking about race, racial hygiene and human eugenics. Only thus can we ensure that our children and their children will be able to find the partners that we would select for ourselves in marriage. Only thus can we ensure the survival of our own kind and our own species. Human stock-breeding is surely not a bad thing when exercised voluntarily and intelligently, and when its aim is to preserve an aristocracy of mankind.

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I Speak As a Southern Negro

BY: PROFESSOR CLENNON KING of MISSISSIPPI

THE National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has emerged, in the post-war years, as one of the most powerful pressure groups in America. Its officials are profiled admiringly in the mass circulation slick magazines. Its political leaders are in continuous conference with top figures in the Eisenhower administration and with party leaders in Congress. There can be no

question that the obscure NAACP of yesterday has definitely arrived.

I have seen this organization growing up among my people over the period of the last quarter of a century. I knew it in its humble beginnings. I was exposed to the same pressures, social and intellectual, which have swung most of the American Negro leaders enthusiastically behind it. I may be bringing in a minority report, but it is my balanced opinion, based upon close contact with the organization and its leaders, that the NAACP has done more harm to the long-range interests of the American Negro than good.

Clennon King is a distinguished Professor of History at Alcorn College, Alcorn, Mississippi. He has delivered his philosophy in person, at times, to NAACP officials—to no effect. But, a follower of Booker T. Washington, and George Washington Carver, in constructively bettering the intellectual standards of his fellow Americans, Professor King has made his own contributions.

I recognize that a tremendous amount of idealistic, dedicated work by high-minded Negroes has gone into the upbuilding of this organization. Its members include a great army of well-meaning men and women who believe sincerely that they are solving their minority

From The American Mercury, January, 1958

AMERICAN MERCURY

250 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

group problems through its program. To me the essential tragedy of the NAACP is that its activities are not solving our problems. Instead, they are piling up new problems which are certain to make the lot of the American Negro even more difficult.

In its humble beginnings, the NAACP appealed to only a few negroes anywhere. It simply did not reflect our general thinking. Its white leadership and well-to-do Negro intelligentsia gave it top respectability, but it was out of step with the needs of concrete situations. Its leaders talked about social equality at a time when local negro communities saw their problems in terms of more important immediate issues. It sponsored dramatic civil rights legal cases which caused its name to be publicized in disproportion to its real stature.

Negroes were not disinterested in social equality or the normal rights of free citizens, but there was preoccupation with the basic necessities of life. Only 40-odd years before we had been illiterate chattel slaves and the subjects of unprecedented confusion.

Even by the time of World War II, when a NAACP chapter could be frequently found in advanced Negro communities, the local NAACP arm was mainly a cultural and fund raising activity. Almost always, the most effective local Negro civic group was—and

still is—an independent community group.

BEFORE the Japs bombed Pearl Harbor I taught school in Athens, Georgia. I was amazed at the cordial quality of interracial relations there, as compared with conditions as I had known them in my hometown, where we had an NAACP chapter larger and more active even than Atlanta's. At that time the Athens school was one of the handful in Georgia accredited by the Southern Association.

Our principal was a Presbyterian. As there was no Negro Presbyterian church in Athens he occasionally attended Sunday services in the downtown church where his white boss, the city School Superintendent, was a member. It was not unusual for our Principal to receive invitations to address white civic, church and cultural groups. The Principal who preceded him finished his college credits through classes he attended in Athens on the University of Georgia campus! Negroes who proudly classed themselves as "old citizens" voted.

These examples may not have been typical, but they are true. There was no NAACP in Athens.

There was segregation in most all the areas where Negroes shared public conveniences with whites, but Negroes could avoid this by not using such services.

NAACP success in swelling its colored membership is a completely new thing. By getting the credit for the 1954 Supreme Court's blessing—and by exploiting in public the excesses of white extremists—it has won extraordinary popularity.

UNTIL about four years ago NAACP depended principally upon shrewd politicians, labor unions, certain foundations, dream-eyed whites, Socialists, B'nai B'rith's Anti-defamation League, disguised Communists, et cetera. Mrs. Roosevelt is a member. So is Vice-President Richard Nixon, Adlai Stevenson and a host of other non-Negroes, including officials of foreign governments, like Jawaharlal Nehru.

During election years the NAACP slips into the camp of one of the major political parties. Thus the NAACP accepts the role of political tool for conniving white politicians. NAACP holds Negro "leadership" because NAACP has Washington's ear. Leadership comes easy when you have power.

AFL-CIO executive, Walter P. Reuther, is a NAACP director. Several years ago, when NAACP membership was 300 percent smaller than it is now I saw one of several CIO checks for \$1,000 made payable to a NAACP voting project in Dixie. The \$1,000 checks arrived in inconspicuous envelopes from Atlanta, with no instruc-

tions. They were cleverly made payable to individuals—leaders of local NAACP cells—and what they did with them was their secret. CIO's less covert NAACP contributions have also been large.

I've never known NAACP to attack the AFL-CIO, yet AFL-CIO reeks with racial discrimination. I've never known NAACP to carry any case to the Supreme Court against any instance of Northern discrimination yet all of NAACP's white board members are Northerners and NAACP admits the North is also, full of discrimination.

Racial prejudice in the United States is not a regional problem but a national one. To use any prescribed area as the scapegoat does little to solve the overall problem and a great deal to exacerbate it.

My own impression is that the deep South is fundamentally embarrassed by its falsified anti-Negro reputation and has been ready for some time to give up forced segregation. But it is not going to let NAACP or anyone else get the credit for intimidating, or forcing it into so doing. Adding strife to strife is not the method of one who would honestly mediate. Does NAACP want to improve the situation or does NAACP want a battle? My experience has been that the instigators of a fight are those least interested in seeing it stopped.

WHEN whites are provoked to fight each other over our particular problems, the beneficiaries of this conflict are certainly not Negroes.

Racial discrimination in America is basically a social problem. The law can help social problems but it cannot solve them. Where the South cannot be urged into quick voluntary desegregation, it will not ultimately be forced to act involuntarily. As during Reconstruction, the troops cannot remain permanently. NAACP, in pleading for school integration before the Supreme Court, predicted that there would not be any serious violence. Many Southerners privately agreed.

I hold a NAACP Blue Certificate Membership, although Mr. Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, expressly wrote me this year suggesting that I not renew my connection with the Association.

My answer went like this:

Dear Mr. Wilkins, I joined NAACP because trying to cooperate with NAACP is not something new for me as it is for the overwhelming majority of Negro NAACPers. For me it has been an almost routine habit since childhood. As you may already know, Dr. Tobias, your first and only Negro Board chairman, married into my mother's family, and like Mrs. Mary Ovington, your founder and ex-treasurer, has visited in our Georgia home on several occasions. My father founded the chapter now

operating in Albany and I founded the Youth Council there. Ever since my reading ability arose above the Sunday comics level, I have been an avid reader of the *Crisis*, NAACP's official voice.

I joined because I can appreciate the beautiful and idealistic hopes that NAACP claims to be trying to realize. I have no hatred for integrated schools, but what Negroes need most are good schools. Good schools, no matter what race attends them, are infinitely better than torn up and disrupted integrated ones.

I have joined because I hope NAACP can find the determination to remove those officers who have no business in it, and become an organization Negroes can justly accept responsibility for. Irregardless of its claims for being "inter-racial", NAACP has become publicized as a "Negro" organization, consequently Negroes not only benefit from its wise moves, but receive the blame when its acts are not so wise. If Negroes are going to receive the blame for NAACP acts, then Negroes should make the decisions and not the Northern whites who inappropriately dominate it.

I joined because NAACP successfully gets away with this claim of representing Negro America. I am a Negro American and I want to do my part to help it live up to its ambitious professions.

I joined because—although aware that the average NAACP member has hardly any legal power within the organization—NAACP stands in danger of making Negroes in

America the internal objects of hate never before realized, and those people who have been NAACP members in the past can probably do more to stop this stupidity than anyone else.

I believe there is more racial prejudice in America today than ever before, not only in the South, but outside as well.

Mr. Wilkins answered: "Nothing could be more completely at variance with the philosophy and objectives to which NAACP is irrevocably dedicated."

ORDINARILY one would assume that NAACP's objectives and philosophy fitted neatly into the phrase, "Negro Advancement." But this is hardly the case when my own membership was discouraged because I questioned the wisdom of "advancement" based on forcing complete grade-school desegregation.

Negro advancement is *not* its supreme motive:

Specific NAACP objectives are hard to keep up with because they vary with whatever the Board deems politically expedient at the moment; its objectives can be changed overnight. Last June I received a list of NAACP objectives from the Manhattan West 40th Street headquarters, among which was included a pious declaration: "To support the United Nations and to combat imperialism, totalitarianism, colonial exploitation,

"The tragedy of being a Negro in this period of NAACP leadership is that to deviate from its line is to invite personal disaster. NAACP propagandists have widely spread the dictum that the only Negro who can be sufficiently stupid to disagree with the NAACP line is a liar, a coward or a nitwit. I know from first-hand experience. Thus far I have come out the exception. Like the Communist Party, NAACP is quick to destroy the name and reputation of Negroes preferring other leadership. There are no more Negro challenges to NAACP than there are because NAACP is startlingly feared by us."

—CLENNON KING,
Alcorn, Mississippi

and racial discrimination throughout the world." In August I received another list from headquarters with this objective completely missing. By what right is NAACP dues-money used for international propaganda? A copy of NAACP's constitution and by-laws is next to impossible for members to obtain.

The fuzzy actions of NAACP as a Negro organization is primarily due to its being something else. It is a *white organization* which later admitted Negroes and became "interracial".

In the 1930's when I was still in college, my father (unaware of the

NAACP's portent) wanted me to be an NAACP organizer. I was delighted. But the national office was not. "We are grateful for your offer," they told me, "but sorry we cannot accept it. We want funds but not a *mass* Negro organization." They were having *mass* Negro fund raising meetings however and using white "violation" of Negro civil rights as bait!

NAACP is not as interested in the Negro mass as it is interested in power over the Negro mass. Like the Communist Party, NAACP is so organized that practically all power is entrenched in the hands of its Board of Directors, an actual politburo or all powerful central committee. It forms all the policy and elects all officers. It is maintained by a very involved process which allows the average member no measurable voice in other than purely local affairs—and money-raising stints. It, in turn, is dominated by a very small inner circle, self-perpetuating and dictatorial. Whereas whites form only an infinitesimal fraction of the Association's 350,000 members, they form the balance of power among the directors and hold the key offices, if not the more noticeable ones. The President is white and the Treasurer is white, but the officers who are given the public limelight are colored—for obvious reasons. The Negro membership is deceived into a feeling of participation

through the annual National Convention. This body of delegates from local units is ninety percent Negro. They hear speeches and pass resolutions, but they cannot determine policy or elect at the "Convention" a single officer! NAACP would do well to democratize its own organization scheme.

NAACP chides that not all Negroes want to be free and dubs us who are wary of its tactics as "Uncle Toms," or "white men's Negroes." Freedom is not mixing and separation is not slavery.

THE substance of the American Negro problem is the deceptive roads we have been led into in the pursuit of freedom. We, too optimistically, follow after opportunist Negro leaders and white "friends" who don't have to pay the penalty for giving Negroes inferior advice. The result is not only a confused and benighted race, but a disabled America in her direst hour.

We Negroes have failed to see that both segregation and integration are secondary issues. If integration were the real key to our freedom, NAACP could simply advise Negroes desiring freedom to move from the South into the "integrated" Northern States. But Negroes who have already moved to the integrated areas in high hopes of freedom, and thereby achieved the end which NAACP advises for the South (mixed

schools, etc.), are even more dissatisfied! Can the NAACP hope to gain from conservative Southerners what it is not getting from liberal Northern "friends"?

The proportion of Northern Negro criminals—a pretty good sign of social unrest—greatly outnumber those of the South.

NAACP goes into convulsions over a Negro killed by whites but when Negroes make their regular national Saturday night forays against each other, reaping a whirlwind of killings and knifings, all

is serene on the NAACP front. It is utterly quiet about the disquieting rate of Negro crime.

If we Negroes are to become absorbed into whiteness has not a freedom still been lost—the freedom to be black?

Marcus Garvey once complained, "The NAACP wants us all to become white by amalgamation, but they are not honest enough to come out with the truth. To be a Negro is no disgrace, but an honor and we do not want to become white . . ."

Listen to Professor King's Warning!

NAACP fights freedom. It uses its great power to discourage Negroes from free discussion of solutions to the race problem. That Negroes must fear social ostracism from their own group if they express interest in solutions to the racial question which do not follow NAACP's line is irony at its worse. It is not right that Negroes should be encouraged by their leaders to boycott other Negroes for sincerely speaking their minds.

My voice as a Negro should not be stilled because I don't meticulously follow NAACP's line. Is NAACP above other human institutions to the extent it has no flaws and hence cannot profit from criticism, even from its own members? It is my belief that the Negro's problem continues a long way from being reasonably solved because NAACP will not allow free and open forum on all the issues and approaches. Its propaganda and doctrine is that the South is nakedly wrong and the North is right; that Citizens Councils are monsters and NAACP angels; that Professor Clennon King is misguided and Rev. Martin Luther King is a mastermind.

The racial problem today is more than an American paradox—and the instigators behind NAACP have that, it seems, as their secret; it is a monumental one of fearsome *global* proportion which the inner sanctum of NAACP sees as setting colored races at the white man's throat all over the world.

—CLENNON KING.

LET ME give you the history of the NAACP so you will have a deeper insight into why it acts as it does today:

NAACP was conceived by a Mrs. Mary Ovington, a white New York social worker. By 1908 she began her most fruitful conference with a white Communist writer, William E. Walling. A white Socialist, Dr. Henry Moskowitz, was also brought in on these discussions, along with whites of the abolitionist tradition like herself. Before the year was out an informal all-white organization had been created with William Lloyd Garrison's grandson as its titular head.

In 1909 the new association was expanded to include, according to Mr. Walling, a "large and powerful body of citizens." Its avowed purpose was to obtain the advancement of American Negroes by improving the nation's racial relations. But who knows what was its real purpose?

We do know this much:

After NAACP's foundation had been laid, Dr. W. E. DuBois, the arch contemporary foe of Booker T. Washington, was hired to handle "publicity and research". His role was to interpret the new organization to the public via lecture platform and the *Crisis*. As he described it, "agitation and propaganda" was his purpose. From that time to the death of Mr. Washington five years later, NAACP—

through DuBois—kept its sharpest propaganda weapons aimed at the Giant of Tuskegee and made him the object of its angriest salvoes.

DuBois portrayed Washington to Negro intellectuals as an "Uncle Tom" allegedly because of his willingness to make peace with the South, rather than agitate, and advocate the priority of vocational education for negroes over liberal arts.

The year DuBois received his appointment to NAACP, Washington had made a tour of Europe which netted a lot of respect for the Negro and much American goodwill. In short order NAACP sent DuBois off to Europe to follow Washington's trail and explain that he was not the grand Negro they thought him to be but an American pariah.

NAACP used Dr. DuBois and the *Crisis* to destroy the Booker T. Washington legend. DuBois was well fitted for the task. As a 37-year-old sociology professor at Atlanta University—a native of Massachusetts and trained at Harvard—he was the first Negro educator to be awarded the Ph.D degree. Booker Washington did not even have a college degree. DuBois started after Washington in a big way, in 1905, when he organized the all-Negro Niagra Movement, whose stated purpose, was clearly to liquidate Booker T. Washington. DuBois and Niagra failed, but DuBois and NAACP did not.

THE OLD time abolitionist tradition (to which most original white NAACPers belonged) and the Socialist credo (allegiance to which DuBois repeatedly has admitted with pride) could easily find sufficient threat in Booker T. Washington's leadership to rally in a common front against him. NAACP and Mr. Washington both stood for freedom and equality, but the NAACP and Washington's roads to freedom and equality were completely opposite: NAACP's route was force, Washington's peace.

The post Civil War abolitionists championed the Negro cause and took over the education of the South's potential Negro leaders. Emphasis was exclusively upon training Negroes to equal and excel whites socially and intellectually. Ex-slaves were made U.S. Senators, Lieutenant Governors, and State Superintendents of Education. The KKK mushroomed. Actual wars spasmodically broke out between whites and blacks. Negro thinking was dominated by strong leaders like that of ex-slave Fred Douglas, whose wife was a white woman.

IN THIS sort of hostile and unresolved era Booker T. Washington entered the deep South. He founded a school with originally all-Southern trustees, and without a single white teacher. He created Greenwood Village and Tuskegee

Institute, a distinctly all-Negro community two miles out from the principal town. He insisted that all Institute students must work with their hands. He sent for Dr. George W. Carver and the best Negro talent. He used all-Negro police officers, tradesmen, artisans and technicians. His dream was to demonstrate equality rather than propagandize it.

He showed Negroes how to be free and equal: Make yourselves economically secure. Keep faith in God. Get along with your white neighbors, but observe common decency.

Booker T. Washington became the only American Negro yet to enter the Hall of Fame, New York; New England and Ohio gave way to Tuskegee as the new site of American racial opinion. The rulers of China sent him a huge hand-carved desk for his study. African tribes named schools after him. His name and that of Tuskegee and of Tuskegee's Carver became symbols of the sort of live-and-let-live peace the whole world was looking for. In his day, four United States Presidents, millionaires by the dozen, people from all walks of life and unnumbered foreign countries, made their way to that highly regarded place amid the clay hills of Alabama.

Although Mr. Washington died before it happened, NAACP won over Negro intellectuals and ef-

fectively proceeded from there to spread its dominion over all other Negro classes. NAACP's success would have probably come earlier had not Marcus Garvey come on the scene, but, in time, DuBois took care of him too. With the triumphal conquests of world Socialism on other fronts, World War II's aftermath gave NAACP and similar movements the milieu for making their dominion complete. DuBois grabbed the title "Dean of Negro Thought" which he still proudly wears at the age of 89.

I think the most significant thing about the National Association of Northern White People for the Absorption of Colored People is the untold number of opportunities for real Negro advancement it has deliberately ignored. It does nothing in the South to ease racial tension, although this is its *raison d'être*. On the local level—the most effective level—it seeks no place for Southern Negroes in industry. In fact, it seeks nothing in the South on the local level—except dues from Southern Negroes. It has sought only to create fear in the white South and has made no worthwhile friends.

Considerable word is disseminated from New York about the merits of whites hiring Negroes. Nothing is said about the even more important merit of Negroes creating jobs of their own, by investing in respectable busi-

nesses. The status quo purchasing power of U.S. Negroes exceeds that of all Canada. It is significant that with all its lucrative income during its 49 years, the NAACP does not own a single piece of property, excepting office furniture. What does it do with its money?

THERE is nothing which NAACP has done which could not have been done by Negroes independently and with less bad feeling. NAACP's stock-victory-claim is the lynching statistics. In the year NAACP organized there were 89 Negro lynchings and today there are none. What a radical change NAACP says it has brought about, and many people reverently answer, "Amen." Actually the decline in lynchings began during the period Booker T. Washington became recognized, about a decade before NAACP. Washington spoke out against lynchings and finally established the annual Tuskegee Lynching Reports. In 1907, the year before NAACP was first heard of, lynchings had dropped in 8 years' time from well over a hundred to a comparatively low 58. On the other hand, some lynchings have been directly traceable to NAACP agitation.

The Scottsboro Case which opened in 1931 was NAACP's greatest. The Communists were elated. There was nothing like it

I SPEAK AS A SOUTHERN NEGRO

until the Till Case in 1955. In each instance the publicity of these trials was the important factor. It has been suggested that these two trials alone netted NAACP several hundred thousand dollars. But the ostentation and "outside" participation only hardened the attitude of the Southerners whose duty it was to dispense justice. Nobody hears about the innumerable cases where Southern Negroes have quietly and independently stepped in when justice miscarried and successfully achieved their aims.

WHAT the accumulation of Negro economic wealth has not done, what the reduction of Southern Negro population percentages has not done, what overwhelming Negro urbanization and participation in the armed services has not done and what the South's own changed reaction to the Negro has not done, NAACP could not have done. The reforms for which NAACP has often successfully agitated were already in the process of birth, which the NAACP's rasping tactics have made more painful.

NAACP claims that if America is to be sufficiently strong to fight communism effectively she must put on an impressive be-kind-to-

Negroes drive. Such, it is implied, would lessen harmful Soviet propaganda against the United States and wonderfully aid this country's friendly relations with a world seventy-five percent "colored."

This is clever propaganda. What should stir suspicions is the source of this advice. NAACP is certainly not anti-communistic. It is one of the leading democracy-baiting movements in this country.

Unwittingly or not, the NAACP is fighting on the side of the Soviets and Communism. The Kremlin has been winning the world to Socialism, the most sinister power on earth. Can the forces of individualism successfully stand up against the mass regimentation which NAACP represents? If the people who represent the real principles and individualism, democracy and freedom in America fail, a great calamity is in store for America and the West which she still leads.

Meanwhile, American Negroes of goodwill are effectively silenced as long as Congress persists in recognizing and listening only to the persistent agents of the NAACP. Congress now has the American duty to clip the wings of the NAACP.

History may well record the name of Clennon King, Negro College Professor, as the real intellectual leader of his race. For daring to speak out against the alien minds and tactics of the so-called National Association for the Advancement of Colored People he has been often warned and, at last on the eve of preparing this article, threatened with death.

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THE VARDAMAN IDEA

VARDAMANISM!" "Demagogic appeals!" "Negrophobia!" By these and like expressions the Governor of Mississippi is frequently pointed out as the Apostle of the Rabid Idea. College professors, highly educated and unco' wise, accord to

him the unique distinction of originating a new creed.

James K. Vardaman must smile guiltily at all of this, must wonder how long the deception can last, how long it will be before his rank plagiarism will be discovered and himself unmasked as a mere believer in the repetitions of history.

Here is the Vardaman Idea—a very simple matter, after all. It does not take two men and a boy to comprehend it:

"The negro should never have been trusted with the ballot. He is different from the white man. He is congenitally unqualified to exercise the most responsible duty of citizenship. He is physically, mentally, morally, racially and eternally the white man's inferior. There is nothing in the history of his race, nothing in his individual character, nothing in his achievements of the past nor his promise for the future which entitles him to stand side by side with the white man at the

How the Governor of Mississippi Would Solve the Race Question

BY HARRIS DICKSON

in the South understands what Mr. Toombs meant. And the student who does not live among negroes need only turn the pages of history and read the lesson.

From the beginning of time the white races have never bowed to a superior, and have

rarely brooked an equal. They have tolerated other peoples so long as those other peoples did not come into direct competition and conflict with them—so long as other races took nothing from the white man which the white man desired for himself. For instance, the white man needed the Indian's land—and took it. The Indian resisted—and disappeared.

Under present conditions the negro rarely comes into direct competition with the white man, either North or South. At the North this is because there are so few negroes in proportion to the total population—even these few being in most cases barred from trades unions and like organizations.

In the South the negro was formerly well under control; he is now drifting rapidly from all control; yet he cannot be reckoned the white man's rival. The white mechanic and farmer work side by side with him in peace.

Should the negro be forced upon his own resources into competition with whites, he must stand or fall by



ballot-box.

"This inestimable privilege was thrust upon the negro, snatching him out of his twenty thousand barren years and placing him shoulder to shoulder with the heir of all the ages. This was a stupendous blunder, worse than any crime, and the sober second thought of the nation should correct it.

"We must repeal the Fifteenth and modify the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Then we shall be able in our legislation to recognize the negro's racial peculiarities, and make laws to fit them. This would leave the matter precisely as was intended by the fathers of the Republic."

This is what Vardaman says, and a vast number of patriotic citizens who are standing face to face with the sordid problem think practically the same thing. The only difference is that Vardaman says it.

The statement made is no more than an echo of Abraham Lincoln's words, with a change in the tense.

In his speech delivered at Charleston, Illinois, on September 18, 1858, Lincoln said:

I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social or political equality of the white and black races.

I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor of intermarriage with white people; and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. Inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be a position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

Ten years before the ballot was ever placed in the negro's hand this marvelous man from Illinois stated accurately the position taken by Southern whites in the light of forty years' experience with negro voters. He spoke in a spirit of prophecy, pointing out a pitfall into which he hoped the nation would never tumble.

Can it be doubted if Lincoln were alive to-day he would be big enough, brave enough and generous enough to undo the wrong against which he had lifted his mighty voice in vain? Would mere political expediency prevent? And what a spectacle that would present—the rail-splitter of Illinois and the fire-eater of Mississippi making common cause upon a common platform! Would it then be called "Lincoln's negro-phobia"?

Was this idea original with Lincoln? Indeed, no. Toombs said exactly the same thing in Boston two years before:

I maintain that so long as the African and Caucasian races coexist in the same society, the subordination of the African is its normal, necessary and proper condition, and that such subordination is the condition best calculated to promote the highest interest and the greatest happiness of both races, and, consequently, of the whole society—that the white is the superior and the black the inferior, and that subordination, with or without law, will be the status of the African in this mixed society. Therefore, it is to the interest of both, and especially of the black race, that this status should be fixed, controlled and protected by law.

What did Mr. Toombs mean when he said it would be especially to the interest of the black race that it be assigned a permanent position of subordination? Every white man



Governor Vardaman, Who Says the Negro Should Never Have Been Trusted with the Ballot

into competition with whites, he must stand or fall by the natural law of survivorship. If he cannot survive he must die. Such is Nature's law. It is matter of common knowledge that no like race has ever been able to survive in competition with the whites.

The negro's greatest safety and greatest happiness require that he should be spared a battle which gives no quarter. Should that competition come into the trades, it means that the white man, because of superior competency and intelligence, will demand the best places and the best wages; in commerce the white man will outwit him, in politics control him, in war annihilate him. This is the world-old lesson of the dominating Anglo-Saxon. Mr. Toombs simply meant that the negro could not survive in such a contest of competency, and for his own best interest he should be spared it. Matthew Arnold, the great Englishman, speaks of Anglo-Saxon stocks as "the most moral races of men that the world has yet seen, with the soundest laws, the least violent passions, the fairest

domestic and civil virtues." Again he wrote: "Science has now made visible to everybody the great and pregnant elements of difference which lie in race."

Louis Agassiz, the intimate friend of Charles Sumner, realized this keenly. In 1863 he wrote: "Social equality I deem at all times impracticable—a natural impossibility from the very character of the negro race. . . ." Professor Agassiz held earnestly to the opinion that the negro was utterly unfit for political equality with the whites; he considered the experiment as dangerous, if not ultimately destructive of free institutions.

These are some of the men who advanced the Vardaman Idea before Vardaman was born. Lincoln did not originate it, nor Toombs, nor Agassiz, nor Arnold. The idea developed in the very cradle of human existence; it was an infant disease of mankind, the earliest unsolved riddle that the sun ever shone upon. The ancient Egyptians were seeking an answer to it, writing of it on their scrolls and carving it on their monuments from seven to eighteen thousand years before America was discovered. Their learned men were even then teaching the Vardaman idea how to shoot.

Human history begins in the valley of the Nile. Equatorial Africa, occupied by negroes, has been vaguely known to Europeans for about four centuries; that portion occupied by Egyptians has a recorded history variously estimated at from five thousand to seventeen thousand years before Christ. Throughout this staggering antiquity we catch an occasional glimpse of the negro, described in the writings or sculptured on the Egyptian monuments, always as a savage, always as a slave.

God planted the Egyptian and the negro side by side, in that fabled valley, with equal opportunities. The earth was new; all things lay before all men. No man could borrow from his neighbor, because his neighbor had naught to lend. No man could learn from his neighbor, for his neighbor had naught to teach. Here was the virgin earth, fresh and moist from the hand of the Creator. There was the mysterious sea; and far away in the shining spaces of the night lay the uncounted stars with their lessons spread. All of these were to be studied, all were to be conquered. The door of hope stood broadly open, and no color-line was drawn.

There were no tyrants in those days, no masters and no slaves; there was neither riches nor poverty. Nothing had been preëmpted, nothing patented; there were no Jim-Crow cars; everything was equal.



No Lady Ever Inquires into the Personal Character of Her Servant

Mark the lapse of a few centuries. The achievements of Egypt can scarcely be catalogued, they are so versatile and so magnificent. The Egyptian had erected constitutional government, created the kingly dignity and safeguarded the people's rights.

He was skilled in medicine, and wrote works on astronomy, architecture, anatomy—fragments of which remain to this day. He had built cities which are yet the wonder of mankind; he had devised an elaborate system of religion, he had harnessed the Nile, reared the pyramids and measured the stars.

But the negro's jungle was still a jungle. He had no government, no cities, no learning; he had no clothing, no arts, no

aspirations. He had dreamed no dreams, hoped no hopes, indulged no visions. He had desired nothing, planned nothing, executed nothing in any wise more intellectual than the accomplishments of the gorilla—except his crude superstition, a form of serpent-worship which no white intelligence has ever yet been able to understand.

His sole place in history is the one accorded him by his enterprising neighbor—a driven slave sculptured upon the resting-place of kings.

Left alone, contented in his jungle, he had progressed backward and become a feeder upon human flesh, a polygamist, without religion, family ties or morals. He was the inventor and promulgator of slavery, the potentate and

throne by the Assyrians. (Maspero's Egypt, Vol. VII, page 260.)

This is what did happen to Egypt, the most cultured and refined country of antiquity. Yet when Vardaman says the same thing might happen ultimately to Mississippi, under worse conditions, he is called "an alarmist, in advance of his time."

This was not a new story, even in those faint, far centuries. Mark Twain would possibly explain this striking similarity by charging those ancient Egyptians with plagiarizing Vardaman's Ralid Idea.

The negro started neck-and-neck with the Egyptian in the valley of the Nile. He helped to build the Temples of Rameses, he polished the columns of Karnak, he toiled at the hundred gates of Thebes. But he gained no more conception of those colossal works than did the donkeys which helped him drag the stones.

He touched with his hands, he heard with his ears, with his eyes he beheld the material things about him, but no comprehension of the spirit which reared those massive monuments ever penetrated his skull. Then, as now, perhaps, he merely watched the sun dial for five o'clock to come, and listened for the foreman's voice, "It's time to knock off." He had done his day's labor, and no more.

Under the lash of Egypt he could build the pyramids; without a higher intelligence to guide him he builds a hut of poles.

The story of man ran on. The Assyrians conquered Egypt; the Persian dynasty followed, and fell; the Hebrews came, and went their way. These peoples taught the negro nothing of arms, of science or of the moral law.

Phœnician galleys, with sails of royal purple, floated past on restless explorations; the negro gained no knowledge of commerce or of navigation. Mighty Carthage rose, dominated the maritime world, and fell beneath the steel-tipped wrath of Rome; but neither Carthaginian nor Roman had a lesson for the negro. Northern Africa shook with the tread of Genseric's hordes returning from the pillage of Rome; the negro gaped at the marching myriads without rousing his ambition or stirring his pulse.

Conquering Moslems swept westward along the Mediterranean, crossed into Spain and subjugated it. They bore the Koran in one hand, the sword in the other, building new empires and spreading a new civilization. They left enduring marks upon the entire Western world—except upon this changeless negro.

New nations came out of the North, white savages from German forests, who beat down the barriers of Rome and

The present negro population of Africa is estimated at double the entire population of the United States—without a semblance of civilization, not a schoolhouse, not a newspaper, not a law. The door of hope has rusted on its hinges for lack of a hand to open it.

Such is the phylogeny, the life-history, of the negro race, unbroken generations of barbarism which have fixed their characteristics indelibly upon him. Our American negroes for the most part came from the West Coast; they are Guinea blacks, the easy prey and hereditary bondmen of other slave nations. All historians and explorers agree in assigning to them the lowest position in the scale of Equatorial Africa—except that of the Bushman. Travelers and missionaries to-day describe in most revolting terms these negroes at home. They are naked cannibals, selling their own flesh and blood when they do not eat it, precisely what the Afro-American voter would be had he been left to his own devices. And this is the type to which, from all historical evidence, these same Afro-American voters would speedily revert if the enforced civilization of the white man were suddenly removed. Instances of this reversion might be indefinitely quoted upon the highest authority. Why should the negro revert? Because he has not been long enough out of his natural state to create for him a second nature strong enough to overcome the first. Twenty thousand years of jungle habit cannot be eradicated in a day.

With him there has been no voluntary transition. Left to himself he has never done anything for himself—has never shown the slightest inclination to better his condition. Ridpath says: "The black peoples of Nigritian stock do not choose to exert themselves beyond the range of purely natural wants."

When the strong hand which controls the negro relaxes its grasp, like the released plummet, he drops by sheer force of gravity into his natural level. The wild horse of Texas must be kept under saddle and constantly reminded of the compulsory civilization to which he is subject. Slip his halter for a moment only and he is again the bucking bronco, "a branded hide full o' hell," as madly resentful of harness as if leather had never touched his back. Let him taste an hour of freedom, and he must be captured, broken and civilized again.

When French restraint in Hayti and San Domingo was removed the negro returned to barbarism at once. His rapid reversion in Liberia is "as natural as the return of the sow that is washed to her wallowing in the mire," to quote Professor Barringer.

The Congo native has not advanced an inch

invention and promulgator of slavery; the practice of cannibalism—these being the twin institutions which he had contributed to human progress.

The Egyptians observed these traits of the negro which had kept him at a standstill, and promptly assigned the reason. Oddly enough, it is the same reason given by Lincoln, Stanley, Livingstone, Vardaman *et al. ad infinitum*—"the skull of the negro is different. They had the elongated skull, the low, prominent forehead, hollow temples, thick lips, broad shoulders, salient breast, undeveloped lower part of the body"—all minutely described by careful hands which now repose as mummies in royal mausoleums beside the Nile.

Modern science teaches that the sutures in the skulls of the Caucasian races remain open and loosely jointed until the late maturity of manhood, thus giving the white man's brain an opportunity to expand into the highest possible development of mental power. With the African these sutures close at a comparatively early period in youth; the skull becomes permanently ossified, of extraordinary thickness—well-nigh impermeable. There is little difference between children of the two races. It is no uncommon thing to see a negro child that is exceedingly bright, learning with ease. But Nature seems to have said: "Thus far shalt thou learn, and no further." Development beyond a certain point seems to be absolutely forbidden by the physical, the purely mechanical, structure of his skull. Possibly the Egyptians knew all these details, possibly not; but they did say "his skull is different."

Curiously enough, we find these early Egyptians deploring the evil effect upon their race caused by an admixture of negro blood. It seems uncanny in this twentieth century of grace to hear this far-away protest against miscegenation, and to reflect how little humankind has changed.

Thus complained the Egyptians:

The large number of black women found in the harems of the rich, and even in the huts of the common people, quickly impaired the purity of the race, even among the upper classes of the nation, and the type began to resemble that of the negro tribes of Equatorial Africa; the language fared no better in the face of this invasion, and the written character soon became as corrupt as the language. The taste for art decayed; technical ability began to deteriorate. The moral and intellectual standards declined, and the mass of the people showed signs of relapsing into barbarism.

King Taharqa, whose negro blood is betrayed in his sculptured face, a mixed degenerate, was driven from the

their banners along the shores of Africa. Bonaparte fought his modern gladiators in the shadow of the pyramids. The negro watched them all, and remained as he was.

The black man reappeared in history again and again, but only as an article of unholy commerce. Virginia enacted the first recorded laws in restraint of the slave trade, which were promptly vetoed by successive Kings of England.

The American Colonies won their independence. A second war was fought, and the white man freed the black.

Throughout these sixty turbulent centuries history knew nothing of the negro, and the negro knew nothing of history. He had contributed nothing to the onward march, and gained nothing from it. All the peoples of the world had blazoned their names upon the great book of the world's events—all save one.

Humankind passed through sixty centuries of bloodshed, convulsion and tutelage—the heaven to make it wise and free. But all these centuries of change left no impress upon the stolid and changeless negro. Immutably as the graven sphinx he stood stock-still, wondering at these restless nations who dreamed their glittering dreams, beyond his comprehension. Of all created things he alone escaped the universal uplifting, the world-wide betterment. As he was in the beginning, so is he now. For six thousand years he had bred and multiplied in his jungle. That was all.

Upon many obelisks of ancient Egypt the pen and inkstand are oft-repeated hieroglyphics. Six thousand years later the negro is disfranchised in Mississippi because he cannot read or write. Descriptions of him to-day by such explorers as Stanley, Livingstone and DuChaille are but repetitions of what the Egyptians wrote upon their papyrus scrolls. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, in the *Century Magazine*, after a visit to Africa, abandons all previous theories which he had so ably advanced. He tells the same story of hopeless barbarism, and urges that a difference be made in our fundamental law to fit the negro's limitations. This is Vardaman's position to a T.



A Permanent Position
of Subordination

in civilization from contact with the Portuguese; in Senegal he has given nothing to the French; Cecil Rhodes built an Empire at the Cape—and the naked negro is still the servant of them all. There must be a reason for this. In no place upon the broad globe has he met a more kindly protection, better teaching and a more tolerant charity for his invincible limitations than in the Southern States of America. These people have taught him all he knows.

It is very clear that by himself and of himself the negro has no aspirations. Where all of his neighbors live in mud huts and feed upon human flesh, huts and fat friends are good enough for him. He is imitative, but his imitation does not reach the basic virtues of his model.

In isolated instances this imitation may succeed to all external appearance. But beneath the skin remains the changeless savage, without real foundation upon which to build cultured and moral gentlemen as judged by Anglo-Saxon standards.

The reason is not far to see, both in his jungle history and present mode of life. Hear the testimony of John Clark Ridpath:

It is not far from correct to say that marriage as an institution does not exist among them. . . . In so far as Nature produces a family, to that extent the African social system had a foundation, but no further. . . . In no other race is the fidelity of the man to the woman, or she to him, so little regarded. . . . It seems impossible for them to realize the profound immorality and shocking consequences that must follow. . . . Domestic infidelity is a characteristic of the whole race, yet they do not feel even the inconvenience of an ever-broken family tie.

The American negro remains under dominion of the old race impulses. In the United States, notwithstanding the impact of a civilization and the force of a strongly monogamous people, the inquirer must still be struck with the almost universal depravity of the marital and social estate of the African population. . . . The American negroes still follow the blind instincts of Nature, and remain unable even to understand the higher laws of virtue and fidelity.

The searcher for truth may pursue this subject further in Ridpath's *Great Races of Mankind*, Vol. IV, pages 638 *et seq.*

To this the writer must add his personal testimony as to present conditions, based upon intimate knowledge of the negro, and twenty years' experience in criminal courts. If the plain truth were told it would shock a sensitive world more deeply than all the harrowing stories of the slave ships. The negro is not immoral, he is simply unmoral. As Froude says of him, "He never felt the guilt of sin."

None of these delinquencies draws upon the negroes the disapproval of their own people. There is no punishment of any kind, no loss of social prestige, no frown, no inconvenience. Serving a term in the penitentiary is often regarded as a badge of aristocracy. One negro will say of another: "Better let dat nigger alone; dat's a bad nigger; he's been in the pentenshiarry seven times." He who wins the homage wears it.

All of this being true, unquestionably, undeniably true, is, or is not, the negro different from the white man? The Egyptian thought so; Lincoln said so; Vardaman maintains it.

Their social condition is accepted as a matter of course throughout the South; it causes no comment, and the laws in that regard are not pretended to be enforced. To enforce these laws would fill the prisons and empty the fields. It is a common thing to see a family of brothers and sisters in three or four different shades. No lady ever inquires into the personal character of her servant—she dare not.

When our Anglo-Saxon ancestors ran wild in the northern forests they were men of clean lives—one husband, one wife. The family was the unit out of which they built their government. Upon the purity of their hearthstones and the sanctity of their homes they cemented the foundations of a granite empire.

No white man ever falls so low or becomes so lost to decency that he forgets the first few years of his life. His teachings at a gentle mother's knee and the guidance of a respected father abide with him forever.

It is a melancholy fact that the negro, as a race, has none of these. When the young negro goes forth into the world—God pity him!—he has no such anchorage to hold him steady in the storm. Herein lies the vital essence of the



"Dat's a Bad Nigger; He's Been in the Pentenshiarry Seven Times"

and eaten, he multiplied like imported rabbits in Australia. During slavery their children were well cared for, and there was a wonderful increase. But since freedom came, this has been checked by the frightful mortality among their infants. Men and women alike lead such irregular lives that new diseases, utterly unknown before the war, sweep them off like sheep. Since the war the percentage of black insane in Mississippi, as compared with whites, has increased four hundred per cent. Tuberculosis, formerly unknown, is now extremely common.

The South's Bitter Dose of Black Rule

THE fathers of the present generation were better men than their sons—healthier, more reliable, more industrious. There were better artisans and mechanics among the slaves than among free men to-day. Young negroes are idler, more vicious, and have been educated into six hundred per cent. more criminality.

Vardaman is six feet, black-haired, erect as an Indian, wide-hatted, white-cravated, stalwart and picturesque. A man of intense personality, he says what he thinks, and says it in unmistakable English. Then he backs it up with all the might that in him lies.

His propensity for speaking out in meeting without regard for diplomacy has kept him on the fighting-line all his life. But Vardaman would be happy nowhere else.

Before the Spanish War he was editing a newspaper at Greenwood, Mississippi. He preached intervention. Then he deemed it his duty to help fight the war he had advocated. Leaving wife and family, he enlisted as a private in the First Mississippi Volunteers. A neighboring company elected him captain, but the then Governor of Mississippi refused to commission him. His indignant company wanted to disband, but Vardaman held them together and forced the election of another leader. He immediately reenlisted in the Fifth U. S. Volunteers of yellow fever immunes, although himself not an immune. The situation at fever-stricken Santiago was so desperate that Colonel Roosevelt and other officers, in the famous round-robin, said if they were not taken out of there they would

die. Vardaman, with the Fifth Immunes, was sent to relieve them. A few months after his arrival in Cuba he was appointed Major.

"General Wood," says the Governor, "told me an incident that happened to Colonel Roosevelt in the battle of San Juan. It seems that a negro regiment had broken, and some of them were lying down in front of Roosevelt's position. When the negroes got cool and began to look around them, one big, black fellow raised his head and remarked: 'Dis ain't our c'mand.' 'Keep your position,' ordered Roosevelt.

"'We'se goin' back to our c'mand,' the negroes insisted. 'Keep your position,' Roosevelt repeated. 'The first man that moves, I will kill! If you don't believe I will kill you, ask the sergeant.' 'That is just like a negro,' the Governor commented. 'Under the leadership of one brave white man, while the

band is playing, you can lead him into the mouth of hell.

die. Vardaman, with the Fifth Immunes, was sent to relieve them. A few months after his arrival in Cuba he was appointed Major.

negro problem.

For instance, take a negro boy from Mississippi, send him to the public schools and the high schools; then some philanthropist, perhaps, pays his tuition at Harvard, gives him an education, a bulldog, a silk hat and patent-leather shoes. What can that make of him with such a home behind him and such an instinct within himself? It is quite impossible to make gentlemen by veneer.

The negro cannot be remodeled by beginning at the ballot, the highest duty of citizenship, and then working downward. The cleansing process must begin in his home, in his private character, at the elemental duties, and work upward. Schooling may sharpen his intellect, but it does not make character.

White men have earned preëminence by centuries of struggle. They possess rights and duties to-day which it would have been impossible for them to comprehend a thousand years ago. Nations and individuals are alike; they must grow by their own efforts, or the growth is flabby. The body must be strengthened by physical exercise, each man for himself. No man can take exercise for another. The white man cannot, by law, confer his own instincts, his genius for government, his capacity and power of comprehension upon the negro.

Unable as he is to control himself, the negro is singularly tractable and amenable to control by his well-recognized superiors. For this reason the Egyptians, Romans and Turks paid higher prices for them than for other slaves. They never fretted in captivity; it was their natural state.

The negro thrived and attained his highest development in slavery. Transplanted to a new country, where the climate suited him, where he was not raided, massacred

left to his own devices, the negro produces only twenty-seven per cent. of the cotton crop, despite the popular idea that he makes it all. The English president of a Southern railway system once told the writer that for twenty years they had been gradually eliminating negroes from all positions of responsibility where negligence would cause loss of life or property. These are facts, open, notorious facts, which no man can gainsay.

The South has had its bitter dose of negro voters. We took it not in a sugar-coated pill, nor in a capsule, but straight. Negroes governed the country for eight years after the war, and increased the war debts fivefold. Four years of unparalleled war left the Southern States with an average debt of seven millions; negro rule in eight years of profound peace and abject poverty multiplied these debts to an average of thirty-four millions. War is less expensive than peace under negro domination.

Vardaman knows these things; we all know them. The Vardaman Idea is growing. It is an accepted fact in the South—although there are differences of opinion as to its present expediency. It is being whispered by politicians of both parties in the Border States, under their breath, for the negro wields the balance of power. Lifelong Republicans in Maryland have been driven temporarily into Democratic ranks upon this issue—the ligament which binds the solid South. Governor Warfield, after recent experience, has changed his views, and his State is now in a fair way to rid itself of the black incubus. Mark the reason given for Governor Warfield's previous reluctance—he is said to come of the old slave-holding class, and has not yet outgrown his sentimental kindness for the negro. This is a characteristic of his class.

But once get his tail turned to the enemy and it's 'Good-bye wife and potato-patch.'"

After ten months in Cuba, Vardaman returned to Mississippi, ran for Governor, and was defeated. Four years later he was elected.

There has never been a Governor in the South who has striven more earnestly to protect negroes. He has pardoned more negroes than white men. He broke up the White Cap organization, and sent many of them to the penitentiary for outrages upon negroes.

On one occasion a lynching was threatened in a distant county. Vardaman rushed to the scene on a special train, and personally brought the negro back to Jackson, where he would be safe until the day of trial. This is only one instance. There are many others. His administration of State affairs has been scrupulously honest and successful; even his enemies concede that much.

The necessity for the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment is not so much for the protection of the white man against the encroachment of the black man as it is to protect the black man against inevitable destruction by the white man. If we undertake to adjust the white man's civilization to the negro it lifts him to a condition and atmosphere in which he cannot live, any more than a fish can live out of the water. Neither can we draw the white man down to his level. Therefore, we have got to make laws for the utterly distinct moral and intellectual requirements of the respective races. Thomas Jefferson saw that more than a hundred years ago. Abraham Lincoln realized it fifty years ago. Every observant man in the South knows and feels it to-day.



THE MOST EXPLOSIVE RACE PROBLEM IS IN THE NORTH

"Tyrannosaurus" Stalks in the City of Brotherly Love

By MORLEY CASSIDY

IN THE STARTLED tones of a man who has just discovered a Tyrannosaurus on his doorstep, several national magazines have been crying out recently that "the race problem is moving to the North!"

They are a little late. Most of their Northern readers have been watching the ugly creature prowl their streets for the last 25 years, noting its growth with mounting apprehension. The potential menace has been visible in crime statistics, in mounting welfare budgets, in spreading areas of slums and "blight," in the number of quiet streets where it is no longer safe to walk after dark and in the shocking changes that have come over schools and playgrounds.

The alarm of ordinary citizens has found but little echo in timid newspapers. The subject is too delicate, and no one likes to ruffle sensitive Negro feelings. The press, for the most part, has whispered that the only way to deal with a Tyrannosaurus is to feed it abundantly, pet it, and hope that it will just go away.

But the problem hasn't gone away, and in recent months a whole series of racial quarrels and "incidents" — in Levittown, Pa., in Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland and New York City — has compelled even the blindest to see that Tyrannosaurus is now full-grown and vicious. It is a problem that must be faced and dealt with, and the sudden reappraisals are revealing that it is even bigger than was thought.

The white Northerners' love of Negroes — almost limitless when they are considered abstractly, as a race — is proving to be not much greater than that of Southern white supremacists when the colored folk move in next door, three families to a house, and begin throwing rent parties. There is a saturation point, in other words, at which Northern feelings grow explosive. In many Northern cities, it seems to have been reached.

With much less public comment than would have been given to a similar migration by white Okies or Crackers, four million Negroes have

left the Old South since 1940 to find new homes in the North or Far West.

Forty per cent of the Nation's 18 million Negroes now live in the North and the flood of their migration is growing. They are pouring into Los Angeles at the rate of 20,000 a year, into Chicago at the rate of 35,000 a year, into Philadelphia at the rate of 10,000 a year. Most of the newcomers are agricultural workers, but almost all are determined to make their homes in industrial cities where their lack of skills and ignorance of city ways make them uncomfortable guests. In nearly every Northern city, the Negroes' numbers are increasing at a rate five to 10 times greater than the rate of increase for whites.

THIS MEANS THAT, for the future of this country, the dramatic events in Little Rock are of minor significance compared with the boiling-up of new feelings in the North. As a sample of the North's problem it is useful to take a look at Philadelphia. Little Rock's problems reflect the past. Philadelphia's foreshadow the future.

It is a grim picture, made grimmer by the flat refusal of such groups as the ADA and the NAACP to recognize dynamite when they see it. Senator Joseph S. Clark, a charter member of the ADA and a former Mayor of Philadelphia, recently upbraided a Southern Senator who had pointed to racial problems in the integrated schools of Philadelphia. Clark roundly declared that there had never been the slightest trouble.

His statement made Philadelphia eyes pop. Actually, the Philadelphia schools have been plagued for years by racial quarrels and fights in which knives, broken bottles and zip-guns have been used with deadly purpose, and teachers in some schools have abandoned, in fear for their own safety, all effort at maintaining discipline. Clark's bald denial almost coincided with a massive clash between white and Negro

boys which required 20 police emergency cars to avert a full-scale race riot. At many of the city's schools, emergency cars are posted regularly every afternoon at the hour of dismissal.

The near riot brought a warning from Mayor Richardson Dilworth, Senator Clark's Democratic colleague, that "we must calm ourselves down . . . Racial tensions in Philadelphia have never been so acute."

And Police Commissioner Thomas Gibbons, after a Negro mob of more than 500 had gathered to "rescue" a Negro arrested for a traffic offense, had this to say: "If things go on as they are, Philadelphia is in for big trouble. I can't see the shape it will take, but it will be big."

All this is weirdly out of character for Philadelphia. The Quaker tradition and its Christian spirit are still strong in this venerable, easy-going "City of 1,000 Churches." Until recent years no city in America was freer of racial feeling. But this tolerant attitude, except for a dwindling minority, is almost a thing of the past. In its place, one hears on every side open expressions of racial bitterness that would shock many a Southerner who — however strong his feelings about Negroes as a race — holds individuals in real affection.

What has brought about this change?

Basically it is a function of the growing Negro numbers, with feeling apparently increasing as the square of migration. But compounded with this is a sense of frustration as it is realized that Negroes have suddenly come to hold the balance of political power in Philadelphia, and that politicians of both parties are desperately courting their favor, and thereby feeding the problem.

NUMBERS AND POLITICS form an inseparable element in Philadelphia's problem, as they do throughout the North.

Philadelphia in 1930 had 219,599 Negroes, 11.3 per cent of its population. In the "Thirties, a Democratic state administration discovered the importance of Negro votes and openly recruited for migrants in the South with tales of liberal state relief and equal-rights laws. By 1940 the number had grown to 250,880. The fat wages of war industry and the lure of "equality" raised the number to 376,041 in 1950.

The latest figures show a Negro population of 489,900, a gain of more than 113,000 in seven years, seven times the increase of whites. So Negroes today are 22 per cent of the population, with a total larger than the combined Negro populations of three Southern cities — Atlanta,

New Orleans and Jackson, Miss. Politically, the meaning of this is painted on City Hall for every politician to study.

Philadelphia was a rock-ribbed Republican stronghold until 1951. Today its registration is almost evenly balanced, with 498,554 Democrats, 485,900 Republicans. The Negro vote, estimated at about 300,000, is almost solidly Democratic.

To see what such a solid bloc can do, politicians have only to look at some recent elections. Clark won the Mayoralty (against weak opposition) in 1951 with a majority of 124,700. His Democratic successor, Mayor Dilworth, won in 1955 (also against a sitting-duck candidate) by a margin of 132,706.

Clark moved up to the U.S. Senate last year with a state-wide margin of only 18,000 against Senator James H. Duff; he was saved from defeat only by a Philadelphia margin of 169,750. In each of these elections the Philadelphia Negroes' 300,000-vote bloc was decisive.

The Negro vote has been equally potent in giving Philadelphia a City Council with 13 Democrats and three Republicans. And here politics gets down to the brass tacks of the racial problem in Northern cities — the problem of housing.

Philadelphia, like most Northern cities, has always been loosely segregated, not by law, but by custom. The bulk of its quarter-of-a-million Negroes in 1940 were living in South Philadelphia, and in a central area covering parts of the 13th, 14th and 20th wards. The massive wartime and postwar migration vastly extended the limits of these areas, and prosperity enabled many of the more ambitious to "bust" previously all-white areas throughout much of the city.

Today, Negroes are more than one-quarter of the population in 21 of the city's 52 wards, and in 14 of these they are more than half.

The pressure to "bust" more blocks in white areas has grown explosively as self-respecting Negroes seek escape from the "traditional" Negro areas, now bursting with ignorant and clamorous "refugees from Southern oppression." This pressure fits in neatly with both the ideals and the political advantage of do-gooders and their political allies.

It is a waste of political force, obviously, to have a surplus of Negro voters in the 20th and 24th wards, and hardly any in the "silk-stocking" 21st and 22nd wards, which still vote Republican.

So the unofficial Philadelphia Housing Association, an ADA-controlled group, last year announced the discovery that the "high-rise"

skyscraper apartments of which it had previously been so proud were not the complete answer they were thought to be. In future, public housing should be based upon the "scatter" principle, with many small units spread in all parts of the city.

This principle was enthusiastically adopted by the Philadelphia Housing Authority when it drew up plans for its 1956 program of 21 projects. The plans were revealed with a rush act calculated to throw the public off its guard. The whole program had to be approved in 30 days, it was said, or the Federal money would be defaulted.

The program proved to be a bold attempt at stuffing ballot boxes by housing. Ten of the 21 projects had been concentrated in the "silk-stocking" Sixth Congressional District which had elected Philadelphia's lone Republican Congressman (out of six), Hugh D. Scott, Jr. Others had been placed in all-white neighborhoods where (since Negroes form 90 per cent of the waiting list for public housing in the city) they might be expected to tip the scales in a close election.

The reaction to this overly clever scheme gave Philadelphia its first real insight into the depth of racial feeling that had developed.

The Board of Realtors promptly denounced 15 of the 21 sites as "unsuitable." Public clamor and mass marches on City Hall terrified the Council into ordering public meetings to "explain" the choice of sites. The series of public meetings turned into near riots, and the papers were flooded with letters from white citizens who, quite often, said flatly that they had bought their present homes to escape encroaching Negro areas; they wanted to bring up their children in "decent" surroundings, far from the influence they had seen in areas on the fringe of Negro invasion.

The Housing Authority was compelled, finally, to abandon one-third of its program. But the fight is not over. Mayor Dilworth sounded a new battle cry on October 20 — in Chicago — when he announced that he would call for a "nondiscrimination" pledge as a condition for all *private* housing developments built with government-approved loans. He added a promise that Philadelphia would "crash one silk-stocking neighborhood next year" with a public housing project.

IN PHILADELPHIA, it is only fair to say, the bitter anti-Negro feeling that is developing is not basically a feeling about color *per se*. There are few whites here who have the mystical

Southern attitude that a restaurant is polluted by a Negro's presence, and the rigid enforcement of the state fair-employment-practices laws which has placed Negroes in almost every business establishment has been accepted with good grace.

The feeling grows out of much more practical considerations. In many all-white areas, including swanky Lincoln Drive in Germantown, Negro home-buyers have been accepted, though not welcomed, and white residents have not "panicked." But in all too many areas, it has been observed, the first Negro is the portent of wholesale invasion.

Much of West Philadelphia, thus, has been transformed from an area of solid middle-class respectability into a heavily colored area where trouble is spreading rapidly. Huge sections along Lancaster Avenue have been downgraded into the meanest kind of slums, noisy with barrooms, brawls, juke boxes and hoagie shops, where even the police walk warily, in pairs. The once fashionable Strawberry Mansion section is now a domain divided among juvenile Negro fighting gangs, waging war among themselves.

The meaning of all this, in loss of property values, is something Philadelphians with the best good will cannot ignore. A West Philadelphia realtor estimates that white property owners in much of his area, if they wait to sell until their block has definitely "turned," stand to lose 40 to 50 per cent of their investment.

Philadelphians cannot ignore, either, that while Negroes form 22 per cent of the city's population, they form 60 per cent of the population of Eastern Penitentiary. (In New York City, where they are ten per cent, they account for 35 per cent of crime.) Nor can they ignore the fact that of 10,720 arrests of juveniles in Philadelphia last year, 63 per cent were of Negro youths.

They are increasingly aware, too, that a hugely disproportionate amount of the state's unemployment and welfare funds is going to Negroes, especially to Southern migrants interested only in seeking the good life in what seems to them a welfare state.

Welfare figures are well-guarded secrets, but the high rate of illegitimacy among Negroes (nationally, eight times the white average) helps to support a thriving local industry among Negro women who accept children whose mothers cannot care for them, and receive from the state \$18 apiece per month for their board. It is becoming known, too, that separations among Negro couples are three times as fre-

quent as among whites, and that the state in such cases pays up to \$30 per month for each child to the abandoned mother. The suspicion grows that many a couple works this into a nice racket by conveniently "separating" when the social worker is in the neighborhood.

Philadelphia, which once prided itself on its schools, cannot hide from itself the fact that they are sadly changed. Whatever educators may say, parents are convinced that standards are lowered to "carry" the huge numbers of retarded Negro students. The disciplinary problems are glaringly evident. In such schools as Benjamin Franklin High School, overwhelmingly Negro, parents of white children have been known to withdraw them unwillingly at 16 (the age of compulsory attendance) to avoid the hazards of indecencies to the girls and gang attacks on the boys.

All this Philadelphia might be prepared to accept with resignation if convinced that the better element in the Negro community — certainly a very large part of that community — would find the leadership to deal with those who bring discredit on all Negroes. But this is the most discouraging aspect of the whole problem.

James R. Smith, a far-sighted and extremely able Negro social worker, founder of a notably successful Negro boys' club, was bitterly assailed in the Negro press as a traitor to the race when he appealed publicly to Negro leaders to recognize that Negro crime was a plague which the Negro community must strive to deal with. A barrage of editorials and letters gave him the official line: crime is not a Negro problem but a community problem.

Police Commissioner Gibbons has encountered the same irresponsible attitude in his efforts to stop crime in "The Jungle" — the central city area. His attempts — called for by Negro clergymen who had accused the police of ignoring Negro offenses against Negroes — produced only a hate-mongering campaign in the Negro press alleging "police brutality," and glorifying arrested drug dealers and others as "the unlucky victims."

"We can stop crime in 'The Jungle' " — says Gibbons wearily — "but only if every decent citizen is willing to stand up and be counted. They have not shown that they are, and too many of their self-elected 'leaders' have shown that they will oppose effective action in order to inflame race hatreds."

THIS IS ONLY the sketchiest picture of the problems Philadelphia finds on its doorstep, and there is every evidence that it will grow, rather than decrease, as the NAACP presses on

to wield the balance of power it has won, or is winning, throughout much of the North.

Clarence Mitchell, top political strategist for the NAACP, boasted in advance of last year's elections that "Negroes now hold the balance of power in 60 Congressional races, and 16 Senatorial contests." He may be able to enlarge this claim in 1958 and 1960, as the migration continues, for Negroes now form from 5 to 15 per cent of the population in 14 Northern and Western states with 261 Electoral votes. This is five short of the total needed to name a President.

Little Rock and its aftermath have shown how eagerly the politicians will court this Negro bloc. Malcolm Forbes spelled out his own bald racial appeal in his campaign for Governorship of New Jersey. "The only way you can tell President Eisenhower he did right in Little Rock," he told Negro audiences, "is to vote for Republican candidates on November 5." In New York City, Democratic officials, led by Mayor Wagner, have been currying favor with proposals for a law compelling all landlords to rent to Negro tenants, and to carry school integration to new lengths by transferring pupils to schools far outside their own districts, to "balance" the Negro-white ratio in each school.

The issues, and the bidding and counterbidding of politicians wooing the Negro vote, extends from Coast to Coast. So far as the politicians are concerned it is clear that the NAACP can get whatever it chooses to demand. Tyrannosaurus never had it so good.

Morley Cassidy is a top-rank newspaperman of 35 years' standing — having spent the last 18 in Philadelphia. He previously was a reporter for ten years in New Orleans and spent a year in Africa as a correspondent. In the past three years, he has closely covered the race situation and its related problems.

HUMAN EVENTS was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. It is published weekly at 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. and reports from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. It is usually published in two parts: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article. \$10 per year.

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ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

STATES' RIGHTS

RACIAL INTEGRITY

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI December 30, 1957

STATE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
AND OFFICERS

- V. O. SAMS
COLUMBUS
- JOHN B. CUNNINGHAM
BROOKSVILLE
- N. E. DACUS
TUPELO
- SHELBY WOODWARD
LOUISVILLE
- Z. M. VEAZEY, JR.
COLDWATER
- W. H. ANDERSON
RIPLEY
- BEN JACK HILBUN
OSFORD
- JOHN TABOR
WINONA
- A. E. BRITT
INDIANOLA
- WILBURN HOOKER
LEXINGTON
- FRED JONES
INVERNESS
- PETE WILLIAMS, SR.
CLARKSDALE
- TOM P. BRADY
BROOKHAVEN
- ALBERT GARDNER
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- CLAY TUCKER
WOODVILLE
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GREENWOOD
- ELLETT LAWRENCE
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- ROBERT B. PATTERSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
GREENWOOD
- W. J. SIMMONS
ADMINISTRATOR
1014 PLAZA BUILDING
JACKSON
- MRS. SARA McCORKLE
WOMEN'S DIVISION
GREENWOOD

SUBJECT: WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

TO: ALL OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

Your Executive Committee is proud to announce that we have engaged Mrs. Sara McCorkle to serve as our Director of Women's Activities, to aid the local organizations in securing assistance from the ladies in the various communities. A brief biographical sketch follows:

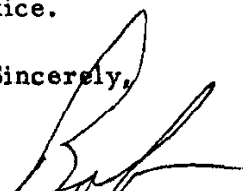
Mrs. Sara McCorkle; past State President of American Legion Auxiliary; past State Chapeau, past National Chaplain, Eight and Forty; Christian Education worker, Episcopal Church; present State Vice President, National Parliamentarians; past Worthy Matron, Eastern Star; State Parliamentarian, Business and Professional Women's Clubs of Mississippi; Home Demonstration Agent; Home Management Supervisor, FHA; past Chairman, Citizenship Division, Mississippi Woman's Cabinet of Public Affairs. During World War II she was a war department employee at Camp McCain in the Public Relations and Intelligence departments.

As the mother of four daughters, now living in the South, Mrs. McCorkle feels that Southern ladies have a definite contribution to make in our struggle for states' rights and racial integrity. She feels that the ladies can be very effective in your membership drive and in your educational program.

She wants to see if she can help get the ladies of your community interested in strengthening your local organization.

If you would like to have Mrs. McCorkle visit your community, at our expense, please notify this office.

Sincerely,


Robert B. Patterson
Secretary
Citizens' Council



RBP:mt

*Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Community and in our State
and to the preservation of our State's Rights.*



ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS

OF MISSISSIPPI

STATES' RIGHTS

RACIAL INTEGRITY

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND OFFICERS

J. O. SAMS
COLUMBUS

JOHN B. CUNNINGHAM
BROOKSVILLE

N. E. DACUS
TUNELLO

SHELBY WOODWARD
LOUISVILLE

Z. M. VEAZEY, JR.
COLDWATER

W. H. ANDERSON
HIPLEY

BEN JACK HILBUN
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JOHN TABOR
WINDA

A. E. BRITT
INDIANOLA

WILBURN HOOKER
LEXINGTON

FRED JONES
INVERNESS

PETE WILLIAMS, SR.
CLARKSDALE

TOM P. BRADY
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ADMINISTRATOR
1014 PLAZA BUILDING
JACKSON

MRS. SARA MCCORKLE
WOMEN'S DIVISION
GREENWOOD

4th ANNUAL REPORT JULY 1958 IN RETROSPECT

The fourth anniversary of the birth of your Citizens' Council movement was quietly observed on July 11, 1958. It is fitting that those of us who have taken part in the resistance movement against forced integration look back over the past four years and make an appraisal of the situation then and the situation now.

How successful have our efforts been, combined with those of many thousands of other patriotic Americans?

Let's hear from some nationally recognized sources: From the Washington Post Times-Herald, dated March 21, 1957, by the managing editor, Alfred Friendly.

"Segregationists in the Deep South have won the first round against racial intermixture in the public schools." . . . "The South has built a strong set of obstacles blocking the road to future integration. Here is the fruit of the segregationists' energetic and skillful work:

1. THE principle of uncompromising segregation has been made to reign without effective challenge in state and local politics. With exceptions interesting only as curiosities, Deep South politicians do not and cannot breathe a public word to the contrary.

2. MODERATES—those who oppose overnight and large-scale school integration but who nevertheless believe that some steps should be taken in the next few years leading to admission of some Negro students to hitherto white schools—have been placed on the defensive, so much so that they are scarcely to be heard in public.

There is almost no debate. Only rarely is there a white voice raised in the press, the pulpit and the universities suggesting some forthright movement toward desegregation. And needless to say, the white man who speaks out directly for prompt integration is virtually a sideshow freak.

HOLD COMMUNITY REINS

3. AT LEAST in its outward forms, leadership of community institutions such as state and local offices, the press, the church and the civic, welfare, service and social organizations is predominantly in the hands of the unyielding segregationists.

4. THE movement which had taken place since World War II toward interracial cooperation and toward some kinds of integration has been brought almost to a halt. . . .

5. THE phrase of the "Liberal Underground"—a name wryly bestowed upon themselves by those who would like to see prompt movement toward compliance—is that "the chan-

nels of communication are down." . . . People of differing views on the race issue simply don't discuss them with each other, much less publicly debate them.

6. THE Supreme Court decision has been repainted to appear as an order for instant and complete school integration, everywhere, in every school, in massive amount. When the white South now says, as it does with virtual unanimity, "It can't be done," the "it" is automatically understood as meaning a Supreme Court decision for immediate and full-scale intermixture of white and Negro students. . . .

A SPREADING CONCEPT

SIGNIFICANTLY, that view of what "it" means appears to have been made into the dominant image in the rest of the Nation, too.

The importance of that conception, of course, is that once it has been embraced, consciously or subconsciously, as what the Supreme Court ordered, the Southern position of "It can't be done" has to be conceded. . . . For good reasons or for bad ones, large scale integration of all Southern elementary and high schools seems, to almost all observers, Northern or Southern, as out of the question in the immediate future.

7. A REGIONAL gospel has been established that any Federal attempt to force integration will be met by closing down the public school system. The farther south you go, the slier is the action that is deemed to be "forced integration."

The state of affairs outlined above did not just happen. It was planned that way, and with great skill. It was the achievement of determined, energetic and effective men. Some were organized formally in such groups as the White Citizens Councils; others acted informally, but no less effectively, in political or community groups.

The speed of their work, the completeness of their control of political bodies and agencies at all levels, their seizure of the offensive and their deftness in framing the issue in the terms they wanted—all this bespeaks a high order of skill and technique. . . .

THERE ARE parallels in the quick shifts of governmental, press and community attitudes in all the Deep South states.

In many places there appears to have been a moment, whether of a few days or a few months duration, when leaders of opinion—not necessarily or even usually the political figures—were prepared, although reluctantly and unhappily, to take some first tentative measures leading to full compliance in the next several years.

Then something happened. The mood passed, to be replaced by an adamant resistance led and controlled by the segregationists, militant and well-organized."

From the Saturday Evening Post, June 15, 1957, Article entitled "The Deep South Says Never." The first of a series of five.

. . . . "Thus was formed the first Citizens' Council, a movement that in a few months swept the South and gave loud voice to the Southern resistance to school desegregation.

At that time desegregation seemed inevitable and not far off. Today, in the Deep South, it seems unlikely in the foreseeable future. At that time the South was divided, perplexed, resigned. Today the Solid South is a fact, and its resistance to desegregation is granitic. Let us study the remarkable achievement of a resistance movement that has uncompromisingly set its face against the mainstream of American thought as expressed by the Supreme Court of the land — and has thus far got away with it."

Isaac Toubin, of New York, Executive Director of the American Jewish Congress, said at Miami Beach in May of 1958,

"We must face the fact that there is a real possibility of ultimate defeat in the struggle to end racial segregation. The proponents of massive resistance in the South are not fighting for delay or moderation. Their aim is reversal in law, or nullification in fact, of the Supreme Court's decision."

You who have been members and friends of the resistance movement know what you have done. You know what your local organization has done, and you have a good idea of what your State Association, and also the nation wide organization known as "The Citizens' Councils of America," has accomplished.

You realize that the Citizens' Council organization was the rallying point for popular resistance to the unconstitutional "integration" decision of the Supreme Court. You have seen resistance grow from timid faltering efforts on the part of a few individuals to "massive" resistance with the full power of the state governments taking constitutional action towards protecting their people and their schools from destruction. Often, for the individual member, "it is hard to see the forest for the trees." It is hard to picture yourself as an important cog in this gigantic movement, but without you the movement cannot succeed.

One member observed that "It's not only what we did here in Mississippi. It's what our organization inspired people in other states to do that really turned the tide. Resistance is contagious."

REMEMBER LITTLE ROCK

The greatest encounter between the constitutional rights of the people and the states vs. the usurped powers by the Federal Government occurred at Little Rock. "Remember Little Rock" is the battle cry for people who believe it is their sacred right to educate their children in their own way without interference from politically motivated federal sources who know little of local conditions. Because of what happened in Little Rock, Americans everywhere were made aware of the vicious determination of the so-called "liberal minority groups" in their obsession to force their will upon those who differ. The entire nation owes a debt of gratitude to the patriotic citizens of Little Rock, who refused to bow to the tyranny of forced integration.

NEITHER SUDDENLY NOR GRADUALLY

The danger of sudden integration may have passed, but there is great danger, now that the frontal attack by the mongrelizers has failed, that they will resort to "infiltration" and "gradualism."

Southern observers who have watched neighborhood integration in the North now realize that "Being a little bit integrated is like being a little bit pregnant." There is no such thing as being a little bit integrated. Our Northern friends are horrified to find that their original concession to "a little integration" has inevitably forced them to give up their homes and flee to the suburbs. The flight continues, and where it will stop no one knows.

MIGRATION

For economic and other reasons, brought about by selfish politicians and misinformed "do-gooders," the Negro migration to the North has increased and will continue to increase. The end result of this migration will help our cause, but we feel for our Northern white citizens. Already in many Northern sections innocent white people are being forced to suffer a second "reconstruction" such as our ancestors suffered eighty-five years ago. This is tragic. History proves, however, that the masses of people have never reacted to logic and common sense, but only to chaos and bitter experience. The best cure for "integration and Negro domination" is "integration and Negro domination," although it is a painful one that leaves many permanent scars. In many areas "the situation will have to get worse before it gets better."

RACIAL SEPARATION

The South respectfully submits that the best method by which the two races can occupy the same geographical area with a minimum of racial conflict is through the time honored and history proven expedient which is called "segregation."

THE ROAD AHEAD ORGANIZATION

The only method by which racial separation can be continued is through local, state and national organization, in order that the many powerful organizations which seek mongrelization can be counteracted. Many organizations dedicated to racial separation have started in the North and West, and there will be many more in the years ahead. Many of these organizations are not called "Citizens' Councils," but "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," and their purpose is basically the same as ours.

POLITICS

The Citizens' Council is not a political organization, but in our form of government it is natural that sentiment in favor of racial separation will express itself politically by one method or another. This is already evident in the South, and will be evident in Northern and Western areas eventually.

OUR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Listed on page 1 are the members of our Executive Committee. Four Executive Committeemen are elected to serve from each one of our six Congressional Districts. This election is held at the annual district meeting of county chairmen in each district. These are the men who set the policy and direct our State Association. Your State Executive Committee meets the third Thursday in each month, in Jackson, Mississippi, at one of the hotels there. It is always a dutch luncheon meeting. This group provides the personal contact necessary so that your Association will be truly representative of the local Citizens' Councils in the state. We ask that you note the name of your Executive Committeeman, so that you can get in touch with him at any time.

We have urged the board of directors of each local organization to hold a similar monthly meeting. The holding of these regular meetings provides a constant, competent body to deal with any local problems that may arise, and has led in every case to a strong local organization.

OUR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Your State Executive Committee has engaged an outstanding lady, Mrs. Sara McCorkle, to direct Women's activities in connection with the Citizens' Council movement throughout the state, and to direct the Citizens' Council educational program for the youth of Mississippi. Mrs. McCorkle has made many talks to various Civic organizations throughout the state and to many ladies' organizations. She assists the local Citizens' Councils in carrying on educational programs for the young people in the community, in giving the facts concerning race and the reasons for the South's policy of racial separation. She directs our annual essay contest among high school students.

THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL FORUM

We now have the Citizens' Council Forum television program in nine Southern states, on at least seventeen different stations, and we have the Citizens' Council Forum radio programs on more than one hundred radio stations throughout the South. The idea is to inform our people, here in the South, as to the true facts concerning "integration" and to present the South's case to the nation. As soon as possible, we intend to expand this program to cover the entire nation. Bill Simmons, as the producer of these programs, is doing a magnificent job. He maintains a complete staff at our Jackson office in the Plaza Building.

OUR OWN NEWSPAPER

Since October, 1955, we have been publishing our own monthly newspaper, which acts as the official organ for the Citizens' Councils of America movement. We have never missed an issue, and we urge the local organizations to subscribe for each member, so that the local membership will have an idea about what is going on state wide and nationally.

We have found that the most economical means of keeping our members informed and of penetrating the paper curtain which in the past has kept the truth from the public is through this fine publication. All of us are proud of the fine job that Bill Simmons has done as editor of our official organ.

Local Councils that have subscribed to our newspaper for each of their members find that they are well informed and are kept interested in this movement. Our members in Mississippi are urged to mail their copies of the newspaper to friends and relatives in the North after they have read it each month.

We certainly hope that next year each Council will subscribe to our newspaper for each of its members. The subscription price has been set at \$1.00 per year for members in lots of 50 or more subscriptions, the lowest figure possible, since no advertising is accepted. For single subscribers the subscription price is \$2.00 per year.

If preferred, you may send your subscription direct to The Citizens' Council, 1014 Plaza Building, Jackson, Miss.

OUR STATE OFFICE

Our state office in Greenwood employs, in addition to the Executive Secretary and Director of Women's Activities, four full time employees to handle national correspondence, educational publications, and administrative organizational work. Our office receives as high as 300 letters per week from forty-eight states and many foreign countries. All inquiries are answered and orders for literature are filled promptly.

We carry on an active correspondence with Citizens' Councils and other organizations all over the United States. We exchange information and carry on liaison with all sincere patriotic groups and individuals who are dedicated to constitutional government. We have mailed over five million pamphlets to key individuals and organizations in every state in the union and in most foreign countries. These pamphlets, by prominent and respected authorities, present the case for the South, states' rights and racial integrity.

Three years ago it was clearly evident that most of the national magazines were slanting news stories against the South. Lately, we have noticed a reluctant leakage of truth concerning the United States Supreme Court and the Negro race from even such rabid anti-South publications as Time and Life.

Negro migration to the North and the determined presentation of facts by Southerners has helped to bring about this phenomenon.

THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA

The Citizens' Councils of America was organized in New Orleans in January, 1956, with individuals from eleven Southern States participating. It has held regular semi-annual meetings each year since that time.

We believe that this organization will continue to serve as an effective coordinating agency and information center for the various state groups. Our office in Greenwood is the national administrative headquarters.

ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Executive Secretary

WHAT YOU CAN DO AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. **Study** all the facts which give concrete reasons why the South and the nation must maintain its racial integrity. You cannot do your part in educating your children, relatives,

friends, neighbors and business associates unless you know the facts. Subscribe to publications which give the truth about integration. In order to counteract the propaganda campaign against us, we must carry on a continuous educational program and you can help.

2. **Join** a worthwhile organization dedicated to constitutional government and racial integrity such as the Citizens' Council. Be a good member and remember that your dues and your efforts are the keys to victory. This is your fight. Organized aggression must be met with organized resistance.

3. **Enlist** additional members for your local organization. Educate your fellow citizens so that we may all stand together. Contact friends in other counties and states and encourage them to organize. Remember, the mongrelizers are well organized and highly financed.

4. **Keep informed** of all efforts to integrate the races. In this manner a mobilized public opinion may express itself from every direction against every attempt at integration.

5. **Write** letters expressing your views to newspapers, and magazines, as well as to your local, state and national officials. Your letter combined with thousands of others will have a resounding effect.

6. **Vote** for those seeking public office who actively and honestly resist the integration of the races. This also includes your school board and the governing body of your church.

7. **Be alert** for all propaganda movements towards integration, whether in the theatre, television, radio, athletic events, schools, newspapers, magazines, books, or the church. These programs are cleverly planned to soften our people to the idea of mixing of the races. If you should cancel a subscription or withhold patronage, give your reason.

8. **Be sure** you know what is being taught your children in School and Church.

9. **Stand firmly** in the right. Let everyone know that you stand for segregation of the races.

10. There are scalawags among us today just as there were in reconstruction days—people who live among us and thrive upon us, but who are willing to sell us out to the mongrelizers. Integrationists who live among us are much more dangerous to our cause than those who live in New York or Illinois.

PUBLICATIONS

(All Literature Postpaid)

PAMPHLETS

- The Supreme Court Must Be Curbed By James F. Byrnes
- A Christian View on Segregation by Rev. Guy T. Gillespie
- The Ugly Truth About the NAACP by Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook
- We've Reached Era of Judicial Tyranny by Senator James O. Eastland
- The Citizens' Council by R. B. Patterson
- A Jewish View on Segregation Anonymous
- Segregation and the South Judge Tom P. Brady
- The Mid-West Hears the South's Story by W. J. Simmons
- Congressional Committee Report on What Happened when Schools were Integrated in Washington, D. C. From Congressional Record
- Where is the Reign of Terror? Congressman John Bell Williams
- Mixed Schools and Mixed Blood by Herbert Ravenel Sass
- The Educational Fund of the Citizens' Council by Ellett Lawrence
- Second Annual Report Detailed organizational plan

Prices of pamphlets listed above are

10 \$1.00 50 \$4.00 100 \$6.00

The Citizens' Council newspaper (monthly publication) \$2.00 per year

RUBBER STAMPS

- "Remember Little Rock" \$2.00 each
- "Brotherhood by Bayonet" \$2.00 each

BOOKS

Black Monday by Judge Tom P. Brady \$1.00
 The Deep South Says Never by John Bartlow Martin .35
 (paperback edition)

The above may be had by writing the Citizens' Council, 207 West Market Street, Greenwood, Mississippi. See that your public and school libraries obtain these books.

OTHER BOOKS

The Tragic Era by Claude G. Bowers \$5.00
 Houghton Mifflin Company

The Riverside Press

Cambridge, Massachusetts

You and Segregation by Herman E. Talmadge \$1.00

Vulcan Press, Incorporated

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American Race Theorists by Byram Campbell \$3.50

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Jackson, Mississippi

The Cult of Equality by Stuart O. Landry \$3.50

Mr. Stuart O. Landry

305 Chartres Street

New Orleans, Louisiana

White America Earnest Sevier Cox \$2.00

Mr. Earnest Sevier Cox

P. O. Box 116

Richmond, Virginia

The Sovereign States by James J. Kilpatrick \$5.00

The Henry Regnery Company

64 East Jackson Boulevard

Chicago, Illinois

FINANCE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

I wish I could tell you that we have a big cash balance, that our membership has doubled or even tripled. I cannot make any such statement.

It is to be expected that our people would be apathetic because, I suppose, they feel there is nothing going on that needs attention, and that we have nothing to worry about here in Mississippi. This may or may not be true.

The long term goal of this movement is to change the outlook of people in the rest of the United States. We will be able to maintain segregation in Mississippi, but unless we can get laws changed or decisions reversed, this thing is going to nag at us for the balance of time. As for myself, I am not worried about integration in Mississippi in my life time. Lots of us have children and grandchildren, and these children and grandchildren are the ones I am thinking about. We should keep a constant flow of facts going into other states, and to do this takes money.

Unquestionably, the Citizens' Council can claim credit for initiating the fight against integration. Had not the Council movement started when it did I feel we would already have integration in some of our Southern states. Probably some other movement would have come into being, but maybe it would have been too late.

EDUCATIONAL FUND

The Educational Fund was incorporated November 15, 1956. The reason for the Educational Fund was that we were not sure that contributions to the Citizens' Council were tax exempt. We believe that since the Educational Fund of the NAACP is tax exempt, the Educational Fund of the Citizens' Council is tax exempt. So far the exemption has not come through, but we have had no kick backs on former deductions. We believe that the Internal Revenue department must declare it tax exempt.

We wanted a fund so those people who can contribute in large amounts could get tax exemptions, as this means a great deal to many people.

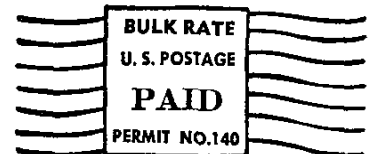
We are very careful how we handle the money in the Educational Fund, and there is simply no way for the government to declare it other than tax exempt. We hoped this fund would be attractive to large contributors. So far we have had only two individuals who have contributed \$1,000 or more.

We hope to have others.

ELLETT LAWRENCE, Finance Chairman

207 W. MARKET ST.
 GREENWOOD, MISS.

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED



Mr. George Alex Everett

Greenwood, Miss.

The Oregonian

ESTABLISHED BY HENRY L. PITTOCK
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SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1958

6M

Responsible Voice

Hodding Carter, the Mississippi editor who spoke to the City Club Thursday night, is representative of the most responsible thought in the South. It is his conviction, expressed in several Portland appearances, that racial integration in the public schools is right morally, ethically and legally, but that it cannot be imposed by force. In fact, it is his view that the attempt to do so will harm, rather than benefit, the broader cause of racial harmony and justice.

As he puts it, should the Negro's rights at the ballot box and in the equal use of public facilities be jeopardized by a militant effort to place a handful of Negro students in an integrated classroom? A southerner born and reared, a leader for more than two decades in a community in which Negroes outnumber whites two to one, Mr. Carter believes that the South is ready to accept equality of status of the races in many impersonal fields, but that it may be delayed in doing so by the irrational crystalization of southern white opinion as a consequence of the application of forceful measures in attaining integration in the schools.

We are not certain we agree with the visitor as to degree of moderation that should be exercised in moving toward full racial equality of education opportunity. But we must grant his superior credentials as an observer.

Point of these remarks is that those who have been and are particularly concerned with the school segregation issue, highlighted by the U.S. Supreme Court's decision of May, 1954, should not, in their preoccupation, lose sight of the more basic needs of education and of the Negro, both north and south.

The North must listen with respect to the responsible voices of the South, for the South will certainly have a voice in the final settlement. The real danger is that it will be a demagogic one.

OREGON

'Don't Push' Warning

By Bob Shults
Journal Staff Writer

Said the Southerner to the Northerner, "Don't push."

A massive resentment seems to be rising among the whites of the South as Northern forces shove them too rapidly into racial integration, Hodding Carter, Mississippi newspaper publisher, warned in an interview here today.

An advocate of integration, Carter believes that it can be done properly only by easy stages. "It will pull down our white public schools if Negroes from inferior schools are suddenly dumped into them en masse," he declared.

He favors gradual absorption of the Negro students as they reach an educational level where they can mix with white pupils. This can be done now on a university level, he said.

THE NEGRO students at Little Rock, Ark., Central high school were "hand picked" for the "token integration," he said.

A much more serious problem in the South than public schools is the vote for the Negro and economic security. In Mississippi only 12,000 out of 1,000,000 Negroes vote.

There is a big surplus of labor in the South. This permits the white employers to keep Negroes "in line" by threats of loss of jobs if they attempt to force integration, Carter pointed out.

"The Negro is not being

absorbed into the South's growing industry in proportion to his numbers," Carter said. "He is the last hired, the first to be fired."

WITHOUT any economic security, the future of the middle-aged, untrained Negro is virtually hopeless if he loses his job, the publisher declared. Many colored persons are escaping to the North to seek some improvement in their lot.

Carter pointed out that "federal bayonets at our throats" is not an idle phrase.



Hodding Carter

The Delta Democrat Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Tuesday, March 11, 1958

problem. This newspaper does not advocate the integration of the South's public schools; but that is actually beside the point. All citi-

JACKSON DAILY NEWS

Mississippi's Greatest Newspaper

JAMES M. WARD, Editor

MISSISSIPPI PUBLISHERS CORP., Publishers

FREDERICK SULLENS, Editor, 1906-1957

PAGE 8

Thursday, September 23, 1958

Communication Lines Opened On Inter-Racial Marriages

While national debate flares over the subject of integration and federal authority as opposed to states' rights much controversy exists on a vital sub-title to the main issue. The sub-title: will mixing of the races lead to intermarriage and evolution of a coffee colored America?

In addition, more and more people are becoming aware of the decay in morality; rapid rise in illegitimacy; unforeseen juvenile delinquency problems, etc. What role does the mixing of "ethnic groups" play in these new social problems after the U. S. Supreme Court's social decision in 1954?

The Jackson Daily News focused attention on the illegitimacy portion of the subject in a full page editorial feature, including U. S. Government charts and graphs, in its editions of August 29. These articles brought out undisputed proof that a nationwide scandal in bastard production among both white and nonwhite people to have a direct bearing on race mixing.

This newspaper presented those facts for public consideration for but one reason. If it is just, right, correct and proper for the Supreme Court to render a decision based on sociological findings, the entire social story should be told.

If a so-called "law of the land" promises utopia and will bring worldwide prestige—which is a falsehood—to America, then the fruits of that decision as pertaining to domestic affairs should be considered.

COFFEE COLOR TO EMERGE

Since the Daily News editorial feature appeared the U. S. News and World Report, to us a fair publication, proceeded to dig deeper into the subject. This magazine in-

terviewed several renowned sociologists in an attempt to learn what lies in the future as the result of integration. The sociologists could not agree to the extent, but they all generally recognize the inevitable. Generations hence integration will mean the Negro race will vanish and the white race will depart—both colliding in a coffee-colored people.

A few people foolish enough to believe that when seven little children are integrated this is the end of integration also might believe the coffee-colored race idea is a myth. The Jackson Daily News has dug a little deeper into this subject. Findings are presented below.

In its issue of last week, Life Magazine makes a stab at dousing its journalistic head into the realm of impartiality and reproduces an article by learned Editor Virginius Dabney of The Richmond Times-Dispatch.

It is an interesting article in which this newspaper generally subscribes to a vast majority of Dabney's views.

Other national magazines are beginning to tackle illegitimacy. McCall's bravely noted the rapid rise in bastardy among the "growing middle class" but that's as far as the magazine editors got their feet wet on the subject.

While the well educated sociologists interviewed in U. S. News and World Report putter about, undecidedly in their mental laboratories to learn the extent to which school integration will involve intermarriage, the Daily News may perhaps help enlighten citizens on the issue.

KEEP COMMUNICATION OPEN

To dig deeper and to learn what the peo-

ple involved think on the subject it is necessary to keep the lines of communication open between the races.

Many profound statements issued by forward-thinking people of both North and South agree to the theory that communication is necessary to maintain good relations and also to fully understand mental attitudes which, of course, will have a direct bearing on the result of school integration.

A survey of impressive proportions has been conducted in an area where school integration has been experienced for a time sufficient to crystallize the thinking of Negroes on the subhead subject: intermarriage.

The Jackson Daily News makes no effort to substantiate or refute the scientific techniques used in this survey. No appraisal is placed on the accuracy of the findings, except it is—so far as is known to this editor—the only measure of thought made in recent years.

The survey was conducted by the Pittsburgh Courier, probably the most substantial Negro newspaper in America.

INTEGRATED AREA REPORT

The Courier has invaded the thinking of Negroes in an integrated area. Let's open the lines of communication between the races and see what the trend of thought is after four short years of a "law of the land" forcing the races to mingle from childhood thereafter.

Please fasten your safety belts. The Courier's survey is reproduced word for word and no further comment from this editor is contained therein.

(Courier Magazine Section)

Who Wants Intermarriage?

Intermarriage Favored, But Non-Skilled Females Object

Editor's Note: The following article deals with what the persons polled thought as individuals regarding intermarriage.

By GEORGE E. PITTS

It appears conclusively that a majority of those queried are in favor of intermarriage except in the female non-professional category, and this fact alone, though not unusual, creates a mild controversy.

The fact that the male professionals and non-professionals, plus the female professionals all favored intermarriage could or could not be significant. But why the disparity among the female non-professionals?

It has been suggested that the Negro woman who lacks professional training and is skilled solely in the art of being a homemaker, is satisfied with the degree of security she gets with her Negro husband, be he professional or non-skilled. This woman, according to psychologists, is reluctant to favor intermarriage because the competition for a desirable husband gets tougher as the field broadens.

Since our modes encourage marriage between persons of similar interests, educational background and social heritage, it is natural for the female non-professional to object to the notion of race-mixing. She knows that the Negro male professional is inclined, though not necessarily, to lean toward the Negro woman nearest his stature. If she does not get a hard-working, non-professional husband with whom she usually would be satisfied, she knows her chances of marrying above her social level are practically nil. With the inclusion of whites in the race, her chances drop considerably.

Why then do the Negro male non-professionals approve almost five to one of intermarriage? Is not their plight similar, if not the same, as their female counterpart?

Experts agree that still this is basically a "man's world." The male, be he skilled in some profession or not, is offered far more fertile ground in which to grow out of a lowly social heritage than the female. He has far more earning power, a greater range and variety of challenging opportunities. He can rise from ditch-digger with little or no education to positions of prominence with much greater ease than the female.

His is a constant attempt to better himself. He is less likely to be satisfied with the status quo. In other words, if intermarriage became a generally accepted practice, the Negro male non-professional would probably benefit more economically and socially than would the Negro female non-professionals.

If given the opportunity to compete for jobs on an equal basis with the white male non-professional, the Negro would certainly advance and fare better economically than he does now, confronted with numerous obstacles that hamper his limited advancement because of the color of his skin. With economic betterment, and subsequently a more commanding position socially, he would become more attractive marriage bait.

In conclusion, however, it can be assumed that the majority of Negroes definitely favor intermarriage, and their feelings seem to

be summarized in the words of Mrs. Bill Doggett, who wrote:

"Love is man's strongest and most powerful emotion. It triumphs and survives when all other emotions fail."

The Courier's Question—And Results

Assuming that men and women have the right to marry whom they please, regardless of race, creed or color, are you, generally speaking, in favor of intermarriage?

Categories	Yes	No	Undecided
Male Professionals	56.6	38.2	5.2
Male Non-Professionals	50.6	40.2	9.2
Female Professionals	50.8	30.6	18.6
Female Non-Professionals	40	50.2	9.8
Anonymous	30.6	60	9.4

Editor's Note: These figures represent percentages of the total amount of answers received.



ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

STATES' RIGHTS

RACIAL INTEGRITY

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

September 24, 1958

STATE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
AND OFFICERS

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COLUMBUS
- JOHN B. CUNNINGHAM
BROOKSVILLE
- N. E. DACUS
TUPELO
- SHELBY WOODWARD
LOUISVILLE
- Z. M. VEAZEY, JR.
COLDWATER
- W. H. ANDERSON
RIPLEY
- BEN JACK HILBUN
OXFORD
- JOHN TABOR
WINONA
- A. E. BRIT
INDIANOLA
- WILBURN HOOKER
LEXINGTON
- FRED JONES
INVERNESS
- KENNETH WILLIAMS
CLARKSDALE
- TOM P. BRADY
BROOKHAVEN
- ALBERT GARDNER
YAZOO CITY
- CLAY TUCKER
WOODVILLE
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PEARL
- H. H. HARPOLE
PHILADELPHIA
- MARION SIMPSON
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- DEWEY MYERS
PRENTISS
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JACKSON
- MRS. SARA McCORKLE
WOMEN'S DIVISION
GREENWOOD

SUBJECT: CITIZENS' COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP FOR 1959

TO: OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

As events unfold in the battle against integration, the need for local, state and national organization becomes even more apparent. An unorganized community is an open invitation to an attack by the integrationists.

Organized aggression must be met with organized resistance.

Four years of experience teaches us that the period between the opening of school and the first of December is the optimum time for collecting membership dues.

We hope that every local Citizens' Council will hold a meeting of its Board of Directors as soon as possible and launch their membership drive for 1959. We should have our largest membership next year in order to face the crisis ahead.

The continued success of the resistance movement depends upon you and your local organization.

Your membership cards have been sent to your officers.

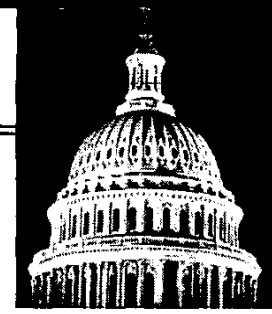
We need you, now!

Sincerely,

Robert B. Patterson
Secretary
Citizens' Council

RBP:mt

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ANOTHER "NOBLE EXPERIMENT"?

EDITOR'S FOREWORD: *For many years during the nationwide controversy over prohibition, Deets Pickett was in personal contact with the members of Congress on behalf of the Methodist Board of Temperance. He edited all of the Board's publications in Washington until his retirement in 1953. As one of the leaders in the prohibition movement, he lectured widely. Last week the Washington Evening Star printed the following article by Mr. Pickett:*

Yesteryear we were a united nation. The Negroes boasted, with good reason, that they had made more progress in less time than any other belated racial group in the world. In the South, hundreds of millions of dollars had been spent on Negro education. There was close and sympathetic contact at the leadership level between Negroes and whites. Interracial violence was at the vanishing point. Those who were guilty of criminal aggression against the well-meaning Negro were from his own lower class, not from the white group.

Fifty years of intelligent, constructive work by men of good will has been casually tossed out of the window by one colossal blunder. The damage is incalculable, appalling; it will become much greater unless checked now. Forcing Negroes into white schools will not gain acceptance; it will further aggravate the situation.

Integration will inevitably collapse. Will some moiety of good will be saved from the wreckage?

Consider national prohibition. The parallel is by no means perfect but is nevertheless enlightening. Prohibition was better planned; better effected; better received. It registered an economic and social success, according to the testimony of many hundreds of businessmen, social workers, educators, economists. But, in the end, it was overwhelmed with complete political failure.

In pre-prohibition planning, every possible provision was made against arousing sectional or group intransigence. An Indiana judge (Artman) ruled that the liquor traffic was "a legalized outlaw" and a long line of Supreme Court decisions went almost as far. But the dry strategists said: "No; not that way. Let the people act, and before we go ahead, at least two-thirds of the States should be dry by their own action. Furthermore, let us wait until we have a two-thirds dry majority in Congress, a heavy majority in both political parties in both houses of the Congress and we should await word that every section of the country is ready. Lastly, prohibition must

come by constitutional amendment, not by statute."

The amendment was submitted by 281 to 128 in the House, 65 to 20 in the Senate. The Democratic vote in the House was 144 to 64 in favor; the Republicans voted 137 to 62. Twenty-four State delegations in the House were solidly in favor; 12 other State delegations had a majority favorable. Only four State delegations divided adversely.

The amendment was ratified in 13 months; eventually 46 of 48 States approved it.

In subsequent years, the dries won elections with monotonous regularity. In 1926, thirty-five Senate seats were up. The dries won 29. In such States as Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts, the wet candidates fell like nine-pins. After that election, there were only five wet Governors left in the United States! A picture of political success if there ever was one, emphasized by the election of Hoover two years later.

Yet just 36 months later, repeal loomed as a certainty. Why?

Many reasons, perhaps, but two stand out. Many people felt that they were being coerced in a matter which should have been reserved to their own decision. They would not be placated; they defied the law, they co-operated with the illegal traffic; above all, they complained at the top of their voices, unceasingly.

The time came when those who wanted the law and wanted it enforced said: "All right, if their liquor means that much to them, let them have it. We are sick of the everlasting resistance and hubbub. Give us peace and quiet, even with liquor."

Prohibition died because psychological factors determine. Logic and theory can't forever prevail against emotion.

So it will inevitably be with integration. Already the people show signs of irritation and weariness. They want friendship between North and South. They are asking questions about some of the implications of the Court's action. Does it mean a step toward legislation by judicial decree, constitutional amendment by proclamation? Are we in danger of relighting the long-dead fires of sectional bitterness?

In the middle is the Southern Negro, who just wants to "get along" with the white folks. He's in trouble and he knows it.

Responsibility for public education should be remanded to the States with more than deliberate speed. Probably a majority of those "learned in the law" believe that is where it constitutionally belongs.

Return responsibility for education to the States. Eventually; why not now?

JUSTICE FRANKFURTER AND THE NAACP

The following news story appeared in the New Bedford, Mass., "Standard-Times" of Sept. 29, 1958:

Associate Justice Felix Frankfurter advised the National Association for Advancement of Colored People on matters of policy for approximately 10 years immediately prior to his appointment to the U. S. Supreme Court. And, within months after his appointment, he wrote a Court decision which reversed a ruling by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in a case termed by the 30th annual report of the NAACP as a "U. S. Supreme Court victory."

Justice Frankfurter has also participated in the Court's most recent decisions on the school-segregation issue, all brought by the NAACP and argued by its paid attorneys.

The NAACP special counsel who handled all the recent cases is Thurgood Marshall. Mr. Marshall has held this position with the NAACP since 1938 and two years before that was assistant special counsel. Justice Frankfurter was named to the Supreme Court bench in 1939.

In a letter answering inquiries by Edward B. Simmons of the "Standard-Times" staff, Justice Frankfurter told of his past association with the NAACP and said he had severed all connections with the organization after he went to the Supreme Court.

He became a member of the national legal committee of NAACP after two of its best-known members died in 1929. During his service on the committee he was "available for advice on matters of policy and not to conduct or to shape litigation," he wrote.

The annual report of NAACP for the year 1939 notes that Justice Frankfurter resigned February 14 from the legal committee, just over a month after his confirmation to the Court.

The report also notes the Supreme Court "victory" of the same year in a case involving alleged disfranchisement of Negroes in Oklahoma. This was the case in which Justice Frankfurter wrote the opinion.

Another major development occurred for NAACP in the same year.

"During 1939," the organization's year-end report noted, "the NAACP changed its legal procedure in education cases from the bringing of mandamus cases

in State courts to instituting injunction proceedings and actions for damages in the federal courts.

"The new theory," the report continued, "is based upon the federal statute, Section 43, Title 8, U. S. Code," providing redress in federal courts for deprivation of civil rights. The statute became law in 1871.

Since 1939, NAACP has brought its "campaign to equalize educational opportunities," as the report described it, in federal courts.

Justice Frankfurter's letter, sent from Washington, was in reply to a letter from Mr. Simmons.

Mr. Simmons had asked for comment on references to the Justice's NAACP connections made in a book, "The Walls Came Tumbling Down," by Mary White Ovington. *Miss Ovington has been prominent in the NAACP.*

"Replying to your inquiry of the 19th," [of September] Justice Frankfurter wrote, "I can tell you when my legal association with the NAACP ended but not when it began.

"On coming onto the Court, I completely terminated my connection with every association, including the American Bar Association and the Harvard Club.

"I can tell you how my connection with the NAACP began. Sometime—I do not trust my memory, even to fix the year—while I was still on the faculty of the Harvard Law School, Walter White, then secretary of the NAACP, came to Cambridge and urged me to join their legal committee, in view of the great loss they had recently suffered in that committee through the deaths of Moorfield Story of Boston and Louis Marshall of New York.

"I agreed to do so. No 'financial agreement' was even suggested and, of course, I could not have accepted compensation for any service I might render in any form.

"There was no problem for me about that, since I made it a fixed rule from the time that I went to the Harvard Law School not to be of any legal service with any kind of retainer or financial agreement.

"Speaking generally, I was asked to be available for advice on matters of policy and not to conduct or to shape litigation.

"Doubtless the records of the NAACP will show exactly when it was that the arrangement which I have indicated began. Cordially yours, Felix Frankfurter."

The News and Courier

South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper

Thomas R. Waring
Editor

Arthur M. Wilcox
Associate Editor

Anthony Harrigan
Editorial Writer

FOUNDED JAN. 10, 1803

12

CHARLESTON, S. C., MONDAY, JULY 14, 1958

Citizens Councils Must Be Strong To Protect S.C. If Crisis Comes

This is an editorial on the citizens council movements. Those readers who think this isn't fit hot weather fare may want to turn to the comic page and follow the adventures of Lil Abner among the senoritas.

But leaving temperatures aside, a discussion of citizens councils in South Carolina is timely. From reports we have received, the citizens council movement in South Carolina has been taking a siesta. While citizens councils across the South have been stepping up their organizational activities, South Carolina's councils have gone to sleep.

Some South Carolinians may say: So what? We asked ourselves that question. Is it necessary for the citizens councils to be tremendously active in the state at this time? Everything is quiet. Race relations are good. Why rock the boat?

Well, we don't believe the boat should be rocked. The good relations between the races should be maintained. South Carolinians have had firm leadership on the segregation front from Gov. Timmerman. We know that our next governor, Ernest F. Hollings, will use all his considerable ability to protect separation of the races. We also know that the General Assembly is like a rock. It will enact whatever legislation is needed to prevent disruption by outside forces.

Nevertheless, The News and Courier believes that a vigorous citizens council movement is needed in this state. While things are peaceful now, the situation can change. In fact, it is clear that trouble won't stay away from our door forever. Virginia is in turmoil

this summer as the NAACP pushes its massive enrollment tactics.

Five Virginia cities are under court order to integrate this fall. All sorts of legal devices are being employed in the hope that public schools may be kept open, but there is not much cause for optimism. Troops could be sent into Charlottesville, Richmond, Newport News, Norfolk or Arlington in September.

If Virginia, or any embattled area, is to survive assaults on its independence, citizens must be prepared. People must know how to act when pressure is applied. They must have a clear understanding of their legal rights.

The citizens council movement is the Southern grass roots organization that can help people become prepared for the day when pressure is applied to them. It is not enough for a governor or legislature to be firm. There must be intensive county by county, ward by ward preparation.

The citizens council movement in South Carolina should include representatives from all sections of the community. Men of substance in their communities should play an active role in council affairs. The best minds and the most independent men are needed as leaders. On the state level, there should be a highly qualified administrator for the councils. It should be required that dues be paid in order that the members may be serviced with up-to-the-minute information.

There is no need for a lot of hullabaloo about integration. But there should be a great deal of quiet preparation and study. The citizens councils of South Carolina are nothing less than a good insurance policy for the state.

Bulletin 7/28/58
Phila

Our Unenforcible Law

By RALPH W. PAGE

Partisans for and against the Supreme Court decision banning segregation in the public schools are observing a kind of truce, awaiting the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals upon the present decree to postpone further integration in the Little Rock High School for another couple of years.



If we assume that this delay will not be permitted, the Negro children will go again to the Little Rock school. And to this extent the law will be re-enforced.

This will be the signal for renewal of the sham battle the Southern politicians and publicists are waging against the Supreme Court. All the immense learning and fervor displayed in reviving John C. Calhoun's nullification doctrine and enlisting the sympathy of the States Rights brigade cannot obscure the final fact that the Supreme Court's decree is the law of the land and will remain so until or unless it is changed by constitutional amendment or a reversal by the Court itself.

But this legal victory should in nowise encourage the champions of integration, as far as the Old South is concerned. For it is now clear as daylight that the solution of the problem in those regions does not depend at all upon whether the decree was legal or not. When the Governors of Dixie say the Court order is unconstitutional, what they mean is that they are not going to obey it.

How effective this determination is can be judged by the fact that in only one of the old seaboard slave States, has a single Negro entered a white school. That was in North Carolina, where exactly five started and four finished.

Therefore any rational dis-

cussion of the subject will be confined to the question whether this law against segregation in the schools can possibly be enforced in those regions.

It is time to recognize that the answer is that this law cannot be enforced where public opinion is so nearly unanimous against it. The Little Rock episode will not serve as a contrary example. In the first place, the plan to take in the Negro children was initiated by the city itself. And the President used force only because the Governor used force to begin with. It is hard to see how United States troops could be used to compel white children to go to a school they didn't want to, or to prevent a community closing a school ordered to integrate.

Just how an infuriated South Carolina county would meet the problem of either closing the schools or obeying a Federal court order to integrate is not settled. But from discussions I have heard, this is not insoluble. One suggestion comes from the decision upholding the trust excluding Negroes from Girard College in Philadelphia. A Trust voluntarily subscribed to by all the white inhabitants would rent and conduct a private school, while all school taxes would be repealed.

I don't want anyone to suppose that I am advocating any such deplorable state of affairs. I am only stating what now appears to be an obvious fact, with which we shall have to live for a long time.

We've done this before. The Negro was enfranchised in 1866. He was forcibly disenfranchised in the South 60 years ago, contrary to the law. During these 60 years he has been gradually getting the vote back without benefit of any Federal coercion. So during the next 60 years he may gradually get more and more qualified students into white schools. But he certainly won't be able to shoot his way in—nor ride in piggy-back on a United States Marshal.

PHILADELPHIA PA BULLETIN 7/28/58

The St. Louis Story—

INTEGRATED SCHOOLS HURTING BOTH WHITE, COLORED PUPILS

The NAACP calls itself an organization for the advancement of colored people.

And integrated education is the chief point around which it has built its campaign for that "advancement."

The best means for colored people to evaluate the effects of the NAACP's high-pressure campaign, therefore, is to take a look at what is happening in integrated schools.

And since St. Louis is perhaps better known to colored residents of this area than any other city in which segregation has been abolished during the last years, it is worth our time in this area to note the effects of integration there.

Soldan High School, located on Union Boulevard, in St. Louis' middle-class west end, offers a typical example of changes that have occurred since the end of segregated classes one year ago this month.

In February of 1955 Soldan High was a school of 900 white children in a community which even then was yielding to the westward influx of colored families from the downtown area.

Today Soldan High has 1,400 pupils, of whom 500 are colored.

Integration is complete, the faculty even including seven negro teachers.

On the surface it might appear that the NAACP has won a valuable victory for the colored children of the area.

But unbiased semi-official reports on what has happened at the academic level in this typical integrated St. Louis school give cause for concern to colored parents as well as to white parents.

For colored children thrown into this middle class white school are failing their subjects in droves in spite of the lowering of academic standards to accommodate their slower pace.

Here, according to a report prepared by persons generally favorable to integration, is what happened at Soldan High last semester on the basis of the best interpretation that can be obtained from school records.

In English, 35 per cent of the negro students failed, compared with 5 per cent of the white students.

In American history, 25 per cent of the negro students failed, compared with 5 per cent of the white.

In general science, 60 per cent of the colored boys and girls failed, compared with 6 per cent of the white.

In physics, 30 per cent of the colored students failed, compared with 7 per cent of the white.

In geometry, 43 per cent of the colored students failed, compared with 5 per cent of the white.

In bookkeeping, 33 per cent of the colored students failed, compared with 7 per cent of the white.

On the basis of such reports, which represent the best available interpretation of class records from this typical integrated St. Louis high school, colored parents call well ask themselves:

"What do our children gain from being thrown into a school where a third of them fail their work and where in time they probably will become so discouraged they drop out of classes altogether?"

"Do they gain enough merely from attendance at mixed classes to offset the harm being done them by their inability to pass their work?"

"Would they not profit more from working at

a slower pace and thereby remaining in school through the twelfth grade than they will from mixed classes conducted at a pace which is faster than they either can go or care to go?"

Those are significant questions for colored parents as they ponder what the NAACP program will do to their children if it is successful here in the South.

And comment by teachers at this typical integrated St. Louis school give equal cause for concern to white parents whose children the NAACP would throw into classrooms with an even higher percentage of negroes—and with negroes who have not had the benefit of such good schools as St. Louis has been operating for its colored children.

Robert Lasch, an editorial writer of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, which strongly supports that city's integration program, makes the following observation in comment which is as nearly unbiased as one can find:

"The distribution of marks does not tell the whole story.

"Asked whether teachers have a tendency to make allowances for the poorer background or training of negroes and thus grade them more leniently than whites, Soldan faculty people say that the student who neither makes progress nor tries to do so is eligible for failure, but one who makes a discernible effort is sure of being passed even if no accomplishment is visible.

"Many intangibles enter into the grading process.

"Where one-third of a class, the colored group, is generally at a lower achievement level than the rest, the natural tendency is for them to draw most of the teacher's attention and energy while the rest find it easier to loaf through."

Then the St. Louis Dispatch editorial writer comments:

"Another situation taxing the faculty is the general tendency of negro students to be tardier to school, tardier to class, more prone to skip an afternoon's classes, and more inclined to absenteeism.

"Without reference to racial prejudice—and attributing the facts solely to differences in cultural and social or economic background, teachers say there is a definitely larger amount of slackness, irresponsibility and intellectual laziness among the colored students than among the whites.

"As one teacher said, there have always been poor students irrespective of color. But a sudden increase in their numbers can change the tone and pace of an entire class."

Thoughtful people, both colored and white, are justified in asking themselves, in view of such reports as this—and similar facts recently revealed by a study of integrated schools in Washington:

"What are colored children gaining from mixed classes that is worth the discouragement they suffer from repeated failure and eventual discontinuance of school work?"

"And what is America gaining from integration that can offset her loss from the seriously reduced pace of study being offered the brighter students upon which our nation depends for leadership in science, medicine, education, business and all the other fields which form the basis of our country's strength?"

"In Mississippi, in 1954, six negroes were killed by whites, eight whites were killed by negroes and 182 NEGROES WERE KILLED BY MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN RACE."

VENEREAL DISEASE INFECTIONS BY STATE AND RACE

From official records of States named.

STATE	Year	Total Infections	White Infections	Negro Infections	% Negro Infections	% State Negro Population	Incident % Negro Infection Divided by % Negro Population
Utah.....	1954	395	339	56	14.	0.4	35.0
Nebraska.....	1954	935	558	377	40.	1.4	28.5
Oregon.....	1954	1,182	934	248	19.5	0.8	24.3
Massachusetts.....	1954	4,184	2,458	1,394	33.3	1.6	20.8
Washington (Civilian).....	1953	2,218	1,182	658	25.	1.3	19.2
Washington (Military).....		2,186	522	1,638	75.		
Illinois.....	1954	27,194	5,190	22,004	80.9	7.4	10.9
New Jersey.....	1954	9,108	2,785	6,323	69.	6.6	10.4
Ohio.....	1954	17,461	6,395	11,066	64.	6.5	9.8
Missouri.....	1954	6,646	2,529	4,116	61.9	7.5	8.2
Kentucky.....	1954	5,008	2,292	2,698	53.9	6.9	7.9
Tennessee.....	1954	18,658	2,927	15,731	84.	16.1	5.2
Florida.....	1954	18,986	2,539	16,447	87.4	21.7	4.0
Virginia.....	1954	13,272	1,987	11,285	85.	22.1	3.8
North Carolina.....	1954	18,608	2,229	16,379	88.	25.8	3.4
Georgia.....	1954	17,951	1,463	16,488	92.	30.9	2.9
Alabama.....	1954	7,367	766	6,601	90.	32.	2.8
Alabama.....	1955	6,064	634	5,430	90.	32.	2.8
Louisiana.....	1954	13,675	1,012	12,582	92.	32.9	2.7
South Carolina.....	1955	11,777	1,357	10,420	88.5	38.8	2.2
Mississippi.....	1954	11,560	690	10,870	94.	45.3	2.0

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS BY STATE AND RACE

From official records of States named.

STATE	Year	Total	White	Negro	% Negro	% Negro*	Incident % Negro Illegitimacies Divided by % Negro Population
Oregon.....	1954	929	807	94	10.	0.8	12.5
Utah.....	1954	294	180	14	4.7	0.4	11.7
Missouri.....	1954	4,008	1,290	2,718	67.8	7.5	9.0
Illinois.....	1954	9,809	3,295	6,514	66.4	7.4	8.9
New Jersey.....	1954	2,926	1,254	1,672	57.	6.6	8.6
Ohio.....	1954	7,447	3,921	3,496	47.	6.5	7.2
Kentucky.....	1954	3,026	1,712	1,314	43.4	6.9	6.2
Tennessee.....	1954	6,012	1,609	4,401	73.	16.1	4.5
Florida.....	1954	7,202	1,240	5,962	82.8	21.7	3.7
Virginia.....	1954	6,794	1,587	5,207	76.6	22.1	3.4
North Carolina.....	1954	9,920	1,614	8,306	83.7	25.8	3.2
Alabama.....	1954	8,791	684	8,107	92.	32.	2.8
Georgia.....	1954	8,967	960	8,007	89.	30.9	2.8
Louisiana.....	1954	7,305	676	6,629	90.7	32.9	2.7
South Carolina.....	1954	7,153	678	6,475	90.5	38.8	2.3
Mississippi.....	1954	7,639	275	7,364	96.4	45.3	2.1

(* "% Population Negro" from U.S. Census Report 1950.)

The above reports on "Venereal Disease Infections by State and Race," and "Illegitimate Births by State and Race," point to some serious considerations, especially for those who condemn racial segregation and advocate racial integration.

It is interesting to note the much higher incidence of venereal disease infections among negroes in Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Ohio than is found in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and other strictly segregated States.

A parallel situation is found in illegitimate births in those States, with the exception of Massachusetts. That State makes no record of illegitimate births. Several States have laws prohibiting such records. In many States such prohibition is part of the "Civil Rights Laws." We were unable to get information on these subjects from several States with "Civil Rights Laws." Does not such a "head in the sand" policy pose a serious threat to the public health and welfare of the nation?

It will be interesting to learn why venereal disease infections and illegitimate births are so much higher in Northern States.

Southern officials, both law and health, point to the moral restrictions inherent in segregation as the principal reason for the differences, and again remind us of the fact, so well known to Southern officials and seemingly ignored by our Northern neighbors, that the negro has such a strong proclivity for "mistaking liberty for license."

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THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2

THE AUGUSTA COURIER, NOVEMBER 3, 1958, AUGUSTA, GA.

No. 584

National Demo Chairman Paul Butler For Once In His Miserable Life Is Correct Battle-Hardened U.S. Troops And Scores Of Federal Marshals Will Never Force South To Bow To Tyranny, Talmadge Declares

Our Flag Is Planted, We'll Fight Until Victory, Georgian Tells Alabamians

Senator Herman Talmadge, of Georgia, in a speech at Fort Payne, Alabama, on October 8, 1958, called for a solid South to fight the tyranny coming out of Washington:

"In the South today as never before there is a need for organized political action on the part of responsible individuals," declared Talmadge.

Sounds Call In Alabama

In his speech, he said:

This Wednesday evening, October 8, 1958, the people of Alabama and the people of Georgia look ahead to the future with the same calm courage and the same steadfast resolve as have done our forefathers in years' past.

The overwhelming majority of the people of the State of Georgia join me in saluting the electorate of Alabama for saying to the nation earlier this year in no uncertain terms that Alabama Democrats will continue to conduct Alabama affairs, just as they have done for 10, these many years.

Georgians congratulate you upon your determination that Alabama children and Alabama schools will not be surrendered up or turned over to absentee control by a United States Supreme Court presided over by a power-seeking, law-blind, politically-minded Republican Chief Justice.

We honor the electorate and the General Assembly of Alabama for sending word to Washington that this State and all the States of this nation still are sovereign and that—by the grace of God and the red blood which flows in the veins of the American people—ever will remain so.

Courts Distort The Laws

My fellow Democrats of Alabama, at this time in which we are living, we are seeing acted out before our eyes a great panorama of struggle between divergent governmental concepts—only one of which in the end can emerge victorious.

Editor's Note: See Page 4 this edition of The Augusta Courier

On the one side we have the traditional American constitutional concept that all government originates with the people—that ours is a government of laws, not men—that Constitutions mean what they say and say what they mean—that laws are written to be respected and observed—that Courts in interpreting these Constitutions and laws should not twist and distort them to meet their own ends—that all powers not specifically delegated to the central government are reserved to the States and to the people.

We Take Our Stand

That is the side on which we, Georgian
(Continued on Page 2)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

I have had an opportunity of making two trips to Florida recently, and of spending two days this last month in the State of Texas.

I find that both states are boiling.

Heretofore, THE AUGUSTA COURIER has run an article or two to the effect that there is hope for Florida. We based it on the fact that former Senator Claude Pepper says that his defeat by Senator Spessard Holland is due entirely to his position on segregation.

Pepper is one of the moderates. He has believed in doing it a little bit at the time.

Another thing that gives hope for Florida is the fact that David C. Eldredge soundly defeated Representative John B. Orr, Jr., for the legislature in Dade County, Florida, at Miami, to the tune of 83,662 to 60,730 votes.

Orr is the only man in the Florida legislature to vote for race mixing in the public schools and Eldredge made the segregation issue on him.

If this issue can win in Dade County it can win anywhere in Florida.

A friend of mine sent me a copy of the MIAMI HERALD of Wednesday, October 1, 1958, giving me the breakdown in each voting precinct of the votes cast for Eldredge and Orr.

On Miami Beach, the vote went anywhere from two to five to one for Orr. The same thing was true in the Negro sections.

But in the rest of Miami and Dade County, the vote was different.

In some of the other precincts the voting was almost as strong for Eldredge.

So, the politicians should no longer be afraid of the segregation issue in the State of Florida.

Wherever I go, I find the people with whom I talk are boiling mad with their governor. They are disgusted with his position on segregation.

He, like Orr, is one of the moderates.

He has recently advocated that Congress pass a law providing how the various counties, cities and school districts should be race mixed.

He's one of these boys who believes in doing it a little bit at the time.

During my two-day trip to Texas, I spoke at Kilgore, Texas and at Dallas. Both were Citizens' Council meetings. One was held in the auditorium on the campus of Kilgore College.

Here we had a large and an enthusiastic audience.

Of course, I was in the Eastern part of Texas and the Eastern part of Texas is very Southern. The people of the Eastern part of Texas think exactly as do the people of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia.

They are practically all segregationists. They do not believe in race mixing, all at once or a little bit at the time.

The people of Texas need leadership and they are crying for leadership.

The leaders in Texas have put the State on the wrong side. As a matter of fact, they have been doublecrossed by a lot of their leaders and it is going to take a long time for them to undo what has already been done.

When Sam Rayburn passed the Senate version of the civil rights bill, which was sponsored by Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas, through the House of Representatives a little over a year ago, they had a birthday party that night for Lyndon Johnson celebrating both occasions.

THE WASHINGTON EVENING STAR, on its society page of Wednesday, August 29, 1957, said:

(Continued on Page 2)

Tool Of Reuther, ADA Orders People Of The South To Either Put Up Or Shut Up

Paul Butler, the Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, says the South should put up or shut up.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER is inclined to believe that for once in his miserable life Paul Butler is correct.

The South has been run over by Paul Butler, the ADA, Walter Reuther and the other radicals in the Democratic Party long enough.

And it is time now to be either a man or a mouse and we believe that it is time for the people of the South to show their manhood.

Anti-South Platform

An anti-South platform was adopted by the Democratic Party at its convention in Philadelphia in 1948.

An anti-South platform has been adopted every four years since and every time they become stronger and stronger.

Butler says that the Democratic platform of 1958 will even curl the few strands of hair left on even the bald heads down South.

Take-It-Or-Leave-It Butler

Paul Butler says that the South can either accept this radical platform or we can leave the party.

Butler even said that he hoped that segregation Democrats, like Governor Faubus of Arkansas and Senator Eastland of Mississippi, "would take leave of the party" if they cannot support a radical platform.

Here's something else he said:

"If they don't want to go along on the racial problem and the whole area of human rights, then I think they are going to have to take political asylum wherever they can find it, either in the Republican Party or a third party."

Vandiver Answers Butler

When Butler's statement was brought to his attention, Georgia's next Governor, Ernest Vandiver, declared that there was a definite possibility that there would be a split in the Democratic Party ranks in 1960.

Vandiver also suggested that it would be more appropriate for Paul Butler and his associates to leave the Democratic Party and organize on "standing for principles more nearly in line with their own extremely leftist bias."

Vandiver believes the Butler and the radicals should turn the leftwing Americans for Democratic Action organization into an ADA party which would not be bothered with Southerners in the ranks.

Butler The Radical

Vandiver said it was ill-becoming to Butler and his radical type to suggest that Southerners who are organized, nurtured, preserved and protected the Demo-

(Continued on Page 2)

TO BE FULLY INFORMED ABOUT STATE AFFAIRS READ THE COURIER

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

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but the vices of all.

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Chief Justice White Said:

"Teach the lesson that settled principles may be overthrown at any time, and confusion and turmoil must ultimately result

"If the permanency of its conclusions is to depend upon the personal opinions of those who, from time to time, may make up its membership, it will inevitably become a theatre of political strife, and its action will be without coherence or consistency

"Break down this belief in judicial continuity, and let it be felt that on great constitutional questions this court is to depart from the settled conclusions of its predecessor, and to determine them all according to the mere opinion of those who temporarily fill its bench, and our Constitution will, in my judgment, be bereft of value, and become a most dangerous instrument to the rights and liberties of the people."

—Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co., et. al.
157 U. S., 429.

Tool Of Reuther, ADA Orders People Of The South To Either Put Up Or Shut Up

(Continued from Page 1)

cratic Party to be read out of the party particularly the Democratic Party which was founded on the principles of states' rights, local self-government, constitutional integrity and the right of the individual to choose his own associates, and to be master of his own destiny."

Vandiver also declared: "Southerners intend to remain in the house of their fathers until, and unless, those like Mr. Butler become so obnoxious that true Democrats are forced to band together in a new Democratic party, dedicated to the imperishable principles of its founders and the ideals of those who made it great."

For Once Butler Is Right

This isn't the first time Paul Butler has invited the South out of the party.

And in view of all the things that have happened in recent months, it is becoming evident that Butler is right about one thing — the people of the South should shut up or get out.

And that simply means they should throw Butler and the radicals out of the Democratic Party or they should withdraw from the radical Democratic Party as it exists today and form a real Democratic Party based upon the fundamental principles on which the Democrats have traveled throughout history.

Time To Be Men

Yes, it is time to put up or shut up. It is time to quit being mousy creatures and stand up like men.

It is time to let the radicals know that they are not going to set up a system of tyranny for the people of the South.

THE AUGUSTA CHRONICLE, the oldest newspaper in the South, had this to say about Butler's statement:

"If it were not for the fact that national elections are coming up next month, Southern Democrats would be in a mood to tar and feather Democratic National Chairman Paul M. Butler.

"Butler, who has developed an unusual propensity for nettling Southern party members, has reached the zenith of his ability to make them mad. Sunday, he challenged conservative Southern Democrats to accept a strong civil rights plank in the 1960 Democratic platform or leave the party."

"In making such a statement, he knows that he has nothing to fear in next month's off-year elections. What he said, we feel sure, was strictly for the consumption of minority voters in the East and West. Southern Democrats, for the most part, already have chosen their political leaders in the various state primaries.

Neither Butler nor anyone else has the authority to drive Southern Democrats out of the party if they choose to remain in it.

But if he doesn't change his tune, come the national conventions, he may have to eat his words. The Southern Democrats may just quit the party. But as long as they remain faithful, they certainly will have something to say about his policies, regardless of Paul Butler's belligerent attitude toward them."

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

"Riding a high, rolling wave of victory, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson celebrated his 49th birthday last evening."

At this party, Speaker Sam Rayburn presented Johnson with a pair of gold cuff links and studs. To the presentation, Johnson replied in the following language:

"I don't know of anyone for whom I have had more affection in my 49 years than for you.

"But the greatest thing you have ever done is what you and twelve other Texans did today when you voted as you did on this (the civil rights) bill."

So, Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn take great pride in taking Texas out of the solid South.

When I was in Texas I issued an invitation to the people to bring Texas back into the solid South.

We need Texas today. Texas is a key state. It is a key state on account of its size, its wealth and the influence that it wields on the national scene.

It is a strange thing that the leaders in Texas have so juggled the politics until Texas has been maneuvered out of the South while the



"COMRADE WARREN!"

Our Flag Is Planted, We'll Fight Until Victory, Georgian Tells Alabamians

(Continued from Page 1)

and Alabama Democrats, take our stand, plant our flag and will fight until victory is won.

Aligned against us are polyglot forces which care nothing for the constitutional history or the traditional foundation of our government.

These polyglot forces look upon the Constitution as an archaic instrument ready now to be discarded. They have repudiated the doctrine of precedent and in its stead have adopted the unproved, untried and unfounded theories of foreign sociologists.

They demand that we turn over every facet of our daily lives to a vast, sprawling, red-tape-ridden bureaucracy in Washington.

Users of Brute Force

They adhere to the philosophy that might makes right.

They think that by sending battle-hardened troops and swarms of Federal marshals against us that they can break our will to resist the imposition of tyranny.

They think that we will turn over to them institutions which our fathers and forefathers hewed out of a wilderness.

Will Never Surrender

They say to us that we must surrender institutions which have been nurtured by us to a high state of development which represent the very blood and sweat of all our people and the heritage and birthright of our progeny to come.

Just as did Alabamians and Georgians of bygone days take their stand, we take ours.

Surrender?

Our answer: We will never surrender. Realizing the onslaughts being made

against us, it is evident now that Southern people must stand together or they will be conquered separately.

Now is no time for internal division or partisan political strife when invasion is imminent and the rights and customs which have stood the test of time are in deadly peril.

Need For Political Action

In the South, today, as never before there is a need for organized political action on the part of responsible individuals, responsible businesses and responsible groups interested in preserving our form of government, interested in maintaining our constitutional liberties and interested in preserving the rights of the States and of the people. I say this for in our National government we saw relatively insignificant pressure groups wielding far more power in our government than their numbers deserve simply because of their militant organizations and activities.

Only recently, we have seen the Republican Chief Justice and members of the Supreme Court fly back from their vacations there to satisfy the demands of NAACP lawyers. We have seen the Attorney General of the United States, the Solicitor General of the United States and even the President of the United States surrender their dignity, their logic and their reasoning powers upon the prodding of these NAACP lawyers.

If the masses of the responsible people of the North and of this nation would unite and make their feelings known through concerted efforts, we would see a big change for the better in Washington.

people of that state still think as the rest of the people of the South. It is strange for people to understand this.

However, it is very easily understood by one who has had experience in state politics.

The political machinery in most Southern states is controlled in the governor's office. In some states, the governor and the United States Senators work in close harmony and it is jointly controlled.

In Texas, the machinery has been controlled in recent years by Lyndon Johnson and Speaker Rayburn and it has been impossible to take the machinery away from them.

By the machinery, I mean the Democratic state organization and most of the local county organizations.

It is very difficult to buck this machinery in any Southern state.

Consequently, Johnson and Rayburn have had the advantage in Texas and it has been almost impossible for the ordinary people of the state who are not professional politicians to buck this kind of machinery.

(Continued on Page 3)

Florida DAR Told That Race Mixing Will Destroy United States

False Doctrine Taught By Some Preachers, Bishops, Businessman Says

Sumner L. Lowry, a prominent business executive, and candidate for Governor in the last election in Florida, says that race mixing means mongrelization and mongrelization means the death of any nation.

He made this statement in a recent speech to the state convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Tampa, Florida.

Here's what he said in this regard: Now the conspirators who wish to destroy our nation will know if you mix people of different color in marriage and if you infuse the blood of fourteen million Negroes into the blood stream of the white American, you will breed a mongrel race, neither white nor black, and the history of the world shows that when a nation becomes mongrelized, it dies.

Soft-Pedal Disaster
There has been a great effort on the part of the integration people to soft-pedal the fact of intermarriage as a result of integration—to make you believe it is not a threat or anything to worry about—but if you throw little white and colored children of both sexes together on an intimate social relationship from the time they are five or six years of age, and have this relationship continue through grammar school and high school, it can end only at one place—that is to the bedroom, with or without benefit of marriage. Anyone who has the slightest knowledge of biology, psychology, social relationship or history is aware that the absolute and certain end result of mixing the male and female together is sex relations. It has never stopped short of that and it never will—race or color is no barrier.

Now many sincere but misguided people try to overlook this fact, they just won't face up to it. But the fear and the certain knowledge that this is what will happen is the one thing that has made the southern white people band together to fight the illegal decree of the Supreme Court of the United States forcing the integration of the races. It is the rock around which the South must rally—it is the real heart of the issue!

Friendly To Negroes
Let me say here that I have only the most friendly feeling for the colored people—I want to see them given the finest schools, churches and facilities of all kinds. I want them to have every opportunity to succeed in life like every other American. But I do not believe in the mixing of the races. I am proud that I am a white man—I believe the Negro should also be proud of his race, and I am sure that God intended it that way. I am also sure the Negro's future will be brighter and happier if he will repudiate those voices who tell him he must force himself on a hostile and unwilling white society.

One of the most potent factors in influencing many people to meekly accept integration of the races, is the position taken by a great many preachers and churchmen in this country—there is no doubt, a large majority of the preachers believe in the integration of the races and are doing all in their power to get their congregation to accept integration—these men in high places in our churches do not understand or will not accept the realities and results of the continuous intermingling of the white and colored people of opposite sexes. They think somehow that little white and colored children can grow up together, go to public school together, to Sunday School, to Church, engage in all the intimate social affairs put on by schools and churches, and then when they get to marriageable age, the white girl and colored boy will shake hands, say goodbye and that will be the end of their relationship—that theory simply is not true!

Preachers Asked Questions
Do you mean to tell me there is even any justice in leading the Negro to believe that you are accepting him as your social equal, and then turn him away at the marriage altar? I ask those preachers who believe in the theory of mixing of the races in their churches if they would

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 2)

In addition to that, they have been controlling the state and federal patronage and they have an army of officeholders and state and federal employees at their beck and command.

When the machinery of any state is so organized, it takes a long time to upset it.

The people of Texas today are getting in the notion to take over and will upset this machinery unless Johnson and Rayburn change their type of leadership in Washington.

But you can rest assured that sentiment for the present America and Southern way of life, restoring constitutional government in America and sanity of the Potomac is gaining by leaps and bounds in both Florida and Texas.

Eventually, the people of these two states will speak and will do it will be with vengeance.

Now the Atlanta newspapers have been full of nothing more than the dynamiting of the Jewish temple in Atlanta.

They have arrested the members of a little hate group who have been spreading literature against the Jews in Atlanta for a long time.

They have been indicted and the courts will now determine their guilt of innocence.

The Atlanta newspapers, and some of the other leftwing papers, have been trying to prove that those of us who set out to resist the Supreme Court decisions in the segregation cases, to have them reversed, and set aside, and constitutional government restored, created a moral climate which produced this bombing.

In the first place, I seriously doubt that the controversy of segregation and the Supreme Court decisions had anything to do with the bombing of the temple in Atlanta. I say that because these little anti-semitic groups existed before the Supreme Court decision came out in 1954 and they existed before we started our crusade.

These same little groups over the country were handing out and distributing anti-semitic literature before that date.

It is true that in recent years their activities have increased and the volume of the literature they have been passing out has increased.

They were here and they were active before this controversy arose. Their increased activity in recent years, in my opinion, has been independent of this controversy and it would have increased had this controversy not arose.

But if this controversy has produced a moral climate which encouraged these groups to dynamite these Jewish centers, synagogues and temples, then I contend that our crusade had nothing to do with it.

In the first place, we didn't produce this agitation and this turmoil. We didn't produce the agitation nor the chaos and turmoil over the mixing of the two races for generations. We people of the South have been living together in a state of peace and harmony. There was very little anti-semitism in the South. The Jews had a greater acceptance in the South than anywhere else in the nation. There was less hatred of the Jews in the South than any other part of the country.

The Negroes and whites were living together in a state of peace and mutual helpfulness. Nothing but the friendliest relations existed between the whites and the Negroes.

We were making progress. We were building schools. We were building roads. We were building educational institutions and we were building service programs designed to promote the health and welfare of the people of the various states of the South.

We were building it under the pattern of segregation. The constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court then meant that segregation and the Southern way of life was legal.

So, one minute the constitution meant one thing. Then a judge signed his name to an opinion and the next minute, it meant the opposite.

In an article appearing in this issue of the Courier quoting a letter written by Carlton Putnam to the President of the United States, Putnam said:

"Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the constitution meant one thing; five minutes later, it meant something else. Only one thing intervened, namely, an expression of the personal views of the members of the Court."

Now, for over one hundred years before 1954 the constitution meant one thing. For all of this time the constitution, as interpreted by the courts, said that segregation was legal.

Upon the faith we had in the court, upon our faith that the constitution meant what it said and upon our faith that the language of the constitution would not change from time to time, we built our economic and social order in the South.

Into the building of this way of life, we had poured our energy, our money and our hearts.

To further our developments under this pattern of life, we built schoolhouses, colleges, hospitals, and institutions in accordance with this pattern of life.

Most of our buildings and institutions would be of little practical use under any other scheme of operation.

The locations of our schoolhouses are such that under any other plan, they would be practically useless.

During all of this time, our preachers, our teachers and our churches taught us that the segregated way of life was the Christian way of life.

Our own experiences and the experiences of our forefathers taught us that the segregated way of life was the Christian way of life.

(Continued on Page 4)

be so cruel as to have a white girl and the colored boy, when he comes of marriageable age, "you can go so far, but no social and religious ties, and then say further, this is where the line is drawn."

The truth is, that any white person who believes in integration, must in his heart, right now, accept the fact that some day he may be called on to take his daughter or granddaughter down a church aisle to join her in holy matrimony with a colored man.

Now I realize that the left-wing press have tried to put a stigma on any man who will openly discuss this phase of integration—they make the public feel it is rude and vulgar to mention the possibility of intermarriage between the white and the black. But it must be done, because it is the heart of the matter, and the cornerstone around which Southern people rally to fight integration. Also, it is only fair to colored and white people that the facts be openly discussed and understood.

Goal of The NAACP

There is no doubt that the goal of the NAACP is the complete integration of the races in every phase of life—schools, churches, housing, public places, society and family intermarriage—there can be no complete integration without intermarriage—the NAACP has tried to soft-pedal this fact, but it is true and nothing can change it.

The Communist conspirators who are behind this integration movement are past masters in the use of propaganda to win their battles.

For instance, after the Supreme Court's decision in 1954, which only said that there should be no discrimination between white and colored children in public schools, the communists immediately coined the propaganda phrase "the law of the land"—this phrase has been taken up on all sides, from our President on down—it is an effort designed to make law-abiding citizens believe that if they do not submit to integration they are not loyal Americans and that they are violating the law—this is not true! The Supreme Court cannot make any law, they can only interpret the meaning of laws passed by Congress. The Congress of the United States is the only body that can make law by law. And they have never passed Federal law saying that white and colored children must go to school together—anybody who wishes to integrate the races and educate their children to believe that the yet, those generation of white and colored have lead men is "the law of the land," forced into and cruel propaganda hoax!

This is a false propaganda phrase so effectively used by those preachers in our favor integration, is the timely used "brotherhood of man"—point-churches who first taught, that love of phrase, "the brotherhood of man" of all things out that Christian or truly religious your brother was quarrel about "the men. Well no Christ. However, the real person will have any white man in his brotherhood of man." "Brotherhood of man" test on the part of the Negro, is the practice of "the brotherhood of man" when he regards for the Negro, is sick, white man will feed the Negro, nurse him and is hungry, nurse him when he is sick, give him life to save him from moral violence—that is the real test of the brotherhood of the white man for the colored man. Yet, some ministers with their great prestige and influence are using "the brotherhood of man" as a lever to force integration in their own churches. This action will lead only to disunity in their congregation, to heartbreak and disappointment for the Negro, to intermarriage, a mongrel race and to the destruction of the United States of America.

Preachers, Bishops Arrogant

The sad part about this whole situation is the almost total disregard for the rights and wishes that some bishops and clergy have for those people who believe in the separation of the races in the church—they run rough shod over these helpless men and women—giving them little opportunity to have their side of the issue heard in the high councils of the church or to have their views presented through church literature and publications all this in the name of "the brotherhood of man" as preached by Jesus Christ. To continue this unfair treatment will destroy the church as surely as the sun rises tomorrow morning.

Please do not think that because I make this statement I do not love my church or respect its ordained leaders, it pains me greatly to openly differ with my church or criticize the fine men who are its leaders. I have been a life-long member of the Episcopal Church. I love it dearly and will continue to do so—but I must publicly say what I do because I know so well that the church is wrong in its doctrine that "integration is a Christian mandate." For me to remain silent would betray my children and my church.

Northern Official Of Delta Air Lines Rips NAACP's Frankfurter

Eisenhower Is Asked To Give Authority For His Recent Statement About God

A famous native of the City of New York, now residing in Washington, has written the President of the United States a letter blistering the Supreme Court decision in the segregation cases.

"Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the Constitution meant one thing; five minutes later, it meant something else," this man declares.

The letter was written by Carlton Putnam, a member of a famous New England family and a graduate of Princeton and Columbia Universities.

He was likewise founder of the Chicago and Southern Air Lines and is now a member of the Board of Directors of the Delta Air Lines.

His letter shows how ridiculous these Supreme Court decisions are.

In reference to the decision, he further says:

"Neither the North, nor the court, has any holy mandate inherent in the trend of the times or the progress of liberalism to reform society in the South."

And he also says that freedom of association, stands on an equal basis with the rights to an equal education.

Here's his letter to the President of the United States:

My dear Mr. President:

A few days ago I was reading over Justice Frankfurter's opinion in the recent Little Rock case. Three sentences in it tempt me to write you this letter. I am a Northerner, but I have spent a large part of my life as a business executive in the South. I have a law degree, but I am now engaged in historical writing. From this observation post, I risk the presumption of a comment.

The sentences I wish to examine are these: "Local customs, however hardened by time, are not decreed in heaven. Habits and feelings they engender may be counteracted and moderated. Experience attests that such local habits and feelings will yield, gradually though this be, to law and education."

IT IS MY PERSONAL conviction that the local customs in this case were "hardened by time" for a very good reason, and that while they may not, as Frankfurter says, have been decreed in heaven, they come closer to it than the current view of the Supreme Court. I was particularly puzzled by Frankfurter's remark that "the Constitution is not the formulation of the merely personal views of the members of this court." Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the Constitution meant one thing; five minutes later, it meant something else. Only one thing intervened, namely, an expression of the personal views of the members of the court.

It is not my purpose to dispute the point with which the greater part of Frankfurter's opinion is concerned. The law must be obeyed. But I think the original desegregation decision was wrong, that it ought to be reversed, and that meanwhile every legal means should be found, not to disobey it, but to avoid it. Failing this, the situation should be corrected by constitutional amendment.

I CANNOT agree that this is a matter involving "few states" as Frankfurter suggests. The picture in reality is of a court by one sudden edict, forcing upon the entire South a view, and a way of life, with which the greater majority of the population are in complete disagreement. Although not from the legal, in fact from the practical, standpoint the North, which does not have the problem, is presuming to tell the South, which does have the problem, what to do.

To me there is a frightening arrogance in this performance. Neither the North, nor the court, has any holy mandate inherent in the trend of the times or the progress of liberalism to reform society in the South. In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and in the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word "association" here, I mean the right to associate with whom you please, and the right not to associate with whom you please.) Moreover, am I not correct in my recollection that it was the social stigma of segregation and its effect upon the Negro's "mind and heart" to which the court objected

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

us that it was the only pattern under which the white and Negro races could live together in the same community in a state of peace and mutual helpfulness.

So, upon the faith we had in our churches, our teachers, our lawyers, our judges, our courts and our constitution, we built our institutions at great sacrifice and terrific material cost.

Now, when in a twinkling of an eye radicals on the Supreme Court bench struck all of this down and when the constitution one minute later meant the opposite of what it meant one minute before, how could anybody expect a great people to react other than we have reacted in the South?

So, we say that if a moral climate were created conducive to bombings and violence, we didn't create it.

We made no changes. Our conduct prior to the decision didn't create bombings and violence.

The folks who undertook to bring about the radical change were the members of the Supreme Court.

So, if say if anybody brought the law into disrespect it was the members of the Supreme Court and the leftwingers who induced the members of the Supreme Court to make this decision.

Now, everybody admits that segregation was legal prior to May 17, 1954. Everybody admits that the constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, made it legal.

Now, on May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court didn't respect the law. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court didn't say that a decision of the Supreme Court was the law of the land.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States and these leftwing newspapers didn't say that we had to accept and abide by the law of the land.

Instead, they were urging the Supreme Court to ignore the law of the land. They were urging the members of the Supreme Court to ignore their oaths of office.

Now, the classic example of defiance of the law is found in the conduct of the members of the court and these leftwingers who induced them to hand down the decision on May 17, 1954.

These leftwingers remind me of the armed robber who broke into a man's home in the dead of night with the determined purpose to rob him and to kill him and his family if it were necessary.

The man shot the robber and the robber took out a warrant for the head of the household for violating the law.

Now these leftwingers and the Supreme Court robbed us and now they have the gall to shout thief.

They destroyed the law and now claim that we are lawless. They destroyed the confidence of the people of the nation in the courts and brought the law into disrepute.

Now, we aren't through with them yet. We are going to talk about them some more and we are going to do something besides talk.

We aren't going to quit until these leftwingers have been curbed and these decisions have been set aside.

as much as to any other, and thus that the court, in forcing the black man's right to equal education, was actually determined to violate the white man's right to freedom of association?

IN ANY CASE, the crux of this issue would seem obvious: social status has to be earned. Or, to put it another way, equality of association has to be mutually agreed to and mutually desired. It cannot be achieved by legal fiat. Personally, I feel only affection for the Negro. But there are facts that have to be faced. Any man with two eyes in his head can observe a Negro settlement in the Congo, can study the pure-blooded African in his native habitat as he exists when left on his own resources, can compare this settlement with London or Paris, and can draw his own conclusions regarding relative levels of character and intelligence—or that combinations of character and intelligence which is civilization. Finally he can inquire as to the number of pure-blooded blacks who have made contributions to great literature or engineering or medicine or philosophy or abstract sciences. (I do not include singing or athletics as these are not primarily matters of character and intelligence.) Nor is there any validity to the argument that the Negro "hasn't been given a chance." We were all in caves or trees originally. The progress which the pure-blooded black has made when left to himself, with a minimum of white help or hindrance, genetically or otherwise, can be measured today in the Congo.

Lord Bryce, a distinguished and impartial foreign observer, presented the situation accurately in his "American Commonwealth" when he wrote in 1890: "History is a record of the progress toward civilization of races, originally barbarous. But that progress has in all cases, been slow and gradual. Utterly dissimilar is the case of the African Negro, caught up in and whirled along with the swift movement of the American

by more loose thinking. Not many of us would care to enter a poetry contest with Keats, nor play chess with the national champion, nor set our character beside Albert Schweitzer's. When we see the doctrine of equality contradicted every where around us, in fact, it remains a mystery why so many of us continue to tolerate the vicious action that status in any field need not be earned.

PIN DOWN the man who uses the word "equality" and at once the evasions and qualifications begin. As I recall, you yourself, in a recent statement used some phrase to the effect that men were "equal in the sight of God." I would be interested to know where in the Bible you get your authority for this conception. There is doubtless authority in Scripture for the concept of potential equality in the sight of God—after earning that status, and with various further qualifications—but where is the authority for the sort of ipso facto equality suggested by your context? The whole idea contradicts the basic tenet of the Christian and Jewish religions that status is earned through righteousness and is not an automatic matter. What is true of religion and righteousness is just as true of achievement in other fields. And what is true among individuals is just as true of averages among races.

The confusion here is not unlike the confusion created by some left-wing writers between the doctrine of equality and the doctrine of Christian love. The command to love your neighbor is not a command either to consider your neighbor your equal, or yourself his equal; perhaps the purest example of great love without equality is the love between the parent and child. In fact the equality doctrine as a whole, except when surrounded by a plethora of qualifications, is so untenable that it falls to pieces at the slightest thoughtful examination.

FRANKFURTER closes his opinion with a quotation from Abraham Lincoln, to whom the Negro owes more than to any other man. I, too, would like to quote from Lincoln. At Charleston, Ill., in September, 1858 in a debate with Douglas, Lincoln said:

"I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races. I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor qualifying them to hold office . . . I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And in as much as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

The extent to which Lincoln would have modified these views today, or may have modified them before his death, is a moot question, but it is clear on its face that he would not have been in sympathy with the Supreme Court's position on desegregation. Many historians have felt that when Lincoln died the South lost the best friend it had. This also may be moot, but again it seems clear that for 94 years—from the horrors of Reconstruction through the Supreme Court's desegregation decision—the North has been trying to force the black man down the white Southerner's throat, and it is a miracle that relations between the races in the South have progressed as well as they have.

PERHAPS THE most discouraging spectacle is the spectacle of Northern newspapers dwelling with pleasure upon the predicament of the Southern parent who is forced to choose between desegregation and no school at all for his child. It does not seem to occur to the papers that this is the cruellest sort of blackmail; that the north is virtually putting a pistol at the head of the Southern parent in a gesture which every Northerner must contemplate with shame.

Indeed, there now seems little doubt that the court's recent decision has set back the cause of the Negro in the South by a generation. He may force his way into white schools, but he will not force his way into white hearts nor earn the respect he seeks. What evolution was slowly and wisely achieving, revolution has now arrested, and the trail of bitterness will lead far.

Sincerely yours,
CARLTON PUTNAM

SUPREME COURT OUGHT TO BE IMPEACHED—SEE YOUR CONGRESSMAN



THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2

THE AUGUSTA COURIER, NOVEMBER 17, 1958, AUGUSTA, GA.

No. 586

Washington Would Hold School Children Of South As Hostages Of Supreme Court

Striking Down Constitutional Amendments By Georgians Is Revolt Against High Taxes, Lush Salaries Of Officials

People Struggling To Make A Living; Many Are Unable To Meet Tax Bills

Georgia people are tired of paying back-breaking taxes.

They said so in the General Election of November 4 in no uncertain terms.

They voted to kill every constitutional amendment which authorized the levying of any new or additional taxes or spending any more money for anything.

They even voted down an amendment to authorize the use of tax money to buy children's school lunches.

Principal Ones Rejected

The principal ones voted down were:

1. To permit the state and counties to levy taxes for school lunches.
2. To authorize the state and counties to levy taxes to support the Ordinaries' retirement system.
3. To permit the state to impose taxes for the support of the Peace Officers' retirement fund.

People in Revolt

The exact figures on the voting on these proposals was not available at the time of the writing of this article, but it is indicated that the people, by a vote of 2 to 1, turned down every one of these proposals.

A fair interpretation of the vote on November 4 clearly indicates that the people are not only tired of paying back-breaking taxes, but they are tired of paying fat salaries and fat pensions to public officials.

This vote means something else. It is a mandate to the legislature and the next governor to trim state spending and not to levy another single penny of taxes during the next four years.

Newspapers Are Wrong

It indicates that the people are mad, they are tired and they are disgusted with taxes and public officials' and public employees' riding on their backs.

For several weeks now articles have been appearing in the newspapers in reference to the state treasury. Some of these articles in talking about the state treasury have pictured the cupboard as bare.

They have indicated that in order for Georgia to continue the operation of its schools, its health program, its welfare program and its road program, new and additional taxes might be required.

These articles aroused the quiet wrath and indignation of the people of Georgia.

People Struck Them Down

There was no campaign against these amendments. Nothing was said in any of the newspapers or by any of the politicians or interested people about these amendments one way or the other.

It was taken for granted that the people would vote for these amendments as a matter of routine as they have always

(Continued on Page 4)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

This race mixing insanity is becoming more chaotic every day. U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT has done more to present to the people of the nation the insanity behind the race mixing schemes than any other one agency in the United States.

In its issue of November 7, 1958, it carried two interesting articles.

One was written by a white girl from Milwaukee, Wisconsin who is now a student in college, and it deals with her experiences in an integrated high school.

Her article is entitled, "I Spent Four Years In An Integrated High School".

The other is written by a Negro who is an executive in the Circulation Department of the Philadelphia Bulletin in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He entitles his article, "A Plea For Understanding".

These two articles clearly demonstrate that the average person has no understanding of the problems involved in race mixing.

The Negro is absolutely unable to comprehend.

Even the people who reside in the Northern cities and vote for integration candidates have no understanding of the problem. They simply run from the problem.

This girl from Milwaukee calls her high school Lakeside High School and here are two paragraphs from her article:

"Lakeside High School was in the path of progress. By progress is meant the gradual changing of the surrounding neighborhood from white to colored. This seems to happen almost everywhere when Negroes start to move into what was formerly an all-white area. The whole changing-over process takes approximately five years. The change that takes place in that period of time is astonishing. Despite the fact that the residents have lived there for years, when the change does start practically all the old residents will be gone in the space of five years.

"Once the change starts, it picks up speed like a snowball going downhill. Within my four years at Lakeside, the proportion of white and colored students had almost exactly reversed. It was about two thirds white when I entered as a freshman and it was two thirds colored when I graduated."

She has accurately described what is taking place in the Northern cities. The white people are running from the Negro as they would run from the plague.

They have segregation in the Northern cities. Their segregation is based entirely upon residence.

Some of these days they are not going to be able to run and when that time comes they will stand still and fight. They will then adopt the same attitude that the people of the South have adopted.

Now, the Negro writer had this to say:

"We have in the U. S. today more friendly-relations groups, more fellowship organizations, more 'brotherhood' agencies, more love-thy-neighbor movements, more people speaking out forthrightly against segregation than ever before. Yet racial tensions and misunderstandings have never been so acute.

"Why? This is a question that profoundly concerns every one of us, white and Negro.

"Why, for instance, in the Northern city of Cincinnati, did voters suddenly change their way of voting when a Negro con-

(Continued on Page 3)

Roman Caesars Never Forced More Diabolical Methods On Their Captives

The big government boys in Washington "would hold the children of the South as hostages of the Supreme Court", declared James H. Gray, Editor and Publisher of the Albany, Georgia, Herald in his keynote speech delivered to the Georgia State Democratic Convention at Macon, on October 14, 1958.

In truth, the Roman Caesars never employed the hostage practice with more devastating effect. The price for not integrating is to be the education of the South's children," he declared.

According to Gray, they plan to create chaos and confusion in the educational system of the South and that "under these shattered conditions, they believe that the people of the South will not have the stamina or the courage to fight back."

His speech follows:

Distinguished Guests and Fellow Democrats:

You and I are met here today amid conditions which are sullen and threatening. We are confronted by problems of unusual range and intensity which catch up all our hopes, ambitions and ingrained principles and shake them like the cat would the mouse. Only those whose minds glide over the surface of events can fail to view the blinking danger signals warning us that we are on the edge of the cliff, face to face with the crowded servitude from which our forefathers fled to a new world. There is a quicksand of fear under the thinking and conduct of our more alert national leaders, for they can see America backsliding into the treacherous and tyrannical ways of despotic Old World Governments, which emphasize that force is the very best instructor and the very best champion of any people.

Over all, of course, there looms the terrible shadow of nuclear power harnessed for destruction. Few can believe that we are indeed done with wars. When political economies are organized for war, they usually get it. All things tend towards their own ends.

And yet I think that the circumstances which now makes us grow cold with nightmare fear for our future is the terrific speed with which these bleak problems are ramming into established institutions of law and order and are butting them all out of shape so that they completely disown their original purposes. You and I of the South share mingled feelings of amazement and disgust when we view the artful deceptions of certain political collectivists who insist with round-eyed innocence—although with their hands very firmly curled around the levers of excessive power—that these collisions are bringing no basic change to the Ameri-

(Continued on Page 2)

TO BE FULLY INFORMED ABOUT STATE AFFAIRS READ THE COURIER

THE AUGUSTA COURIER

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person,
but the vices of all.

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Roman Caesars Never Forced More Diabolical Methods On Their Captives

(Continued from Page 1)

can system at all. Out of their mouths are dribbled greasily such pious and fawning phrases as these: "An era of good feeling," "an era of the common man," "a release from Constitutional restrictions that will grant everybody a greater measure of freedom," "pursuing ourselves into prosperity," and, of course, "a new age of social togetherness, social equality."

Accepted Karl Marx

These phrases are part of the political creed of those intellectual and self-styled liberals who, in their despair over the materialism of America, swallowed Karl Marx and the Communist doctrine in one big gulp some years ago and then decided to present their case of Socialism to the American people as the only sure way to advance liberty and increase prosperity in this modern technological day.

The depressing contradictions between what these smooth-tongued advertisers of the collectivist "welfare state" say in such winsome fashion, and what subversive actions are actually being committed in the name of lofty aspirations, pose a most disturbing situation. For what you and I are beholding currently is a distressing decay of our political system wherein our national heritage of tough-mindedness and creativeness is being sold for a mess of pottage—that colossal fraud, "security." Let us number some of the items in this "security" political grab-bag which are making suckers of some of us and hypocrites of others: The social-service state is rapidly growing into a bureaucratic state where economics based on welfare have been compelled to take a back seat to politics linked with the self-perpetuation of its functionaries. There is the steady drift toward paternalism, the subservience to pressure groups, a number of unbalanced budgets in times of prosperity, and, finally, the rank growth of political cynicism, which has caused too many good Americans to turn shamefacedly away from the workings of their Government.

Big Government

Indeed, a new philosophy of Government has slowly been building along definite lines among us, and it has its supporters not only in the ranks of the Republicans but among the Democrats, too. It is the philosophy of Big Government, of statism, which features the ancient idea that men must be shackled to an all-powerful, centralized rule in order that its leadership and its discipline can bring us an enlarged democratic system. These Big Government boys especially like to use the crisis technique to gain their ends. For instance, of late, they have been pointing to the sky and saying, "See, there goes Sputnik. We've got to meet that challenge. And, if by chance to accomplish that end, we should have to transgress on traditional rights, well, just don't give it another thought because crisis conditions demand unusual action to save us all."

It is true, is it not, that over the years the road away from freedom and toward state control has been paved with the soundest and most patriotic assurances. Well, I submit that you and I as freedom-loving Americans must begin to say "No" to this senseless and highly dangerous political humbug. You and I can no longer afford to accept at face value the barren welfare state concepts of the Big Government boys. We can no longer follow the sanctimonious declaration that the first need of this critical hour is strong, centralized authority, equipped with the right to interfere in all the affairs of the countless communities up and down our broad lands. It is not strong Government that you and I need so much as wise Government, Government invested with the virtues of insight, dignity, justice,

moderation, tolerance and a discerning sense of social values. This Big Government idea offers us the quickest path to centralized rule. Democracy, functioning within the flexible boundaries of our Constitutional checks and balances, offers us the surest path to wise Government.

Nothing In Common

And make no mistake about it: These two concepts cannot go forward hand-in-hand. You and I cannot accept the declared efficiencies of Big Government without surrendering the vast superiorities of real democracy. We must face the fact now that the monstrosities of modern politics and economics are not expressions of true democracy, but only of its sickness.

Democracy and its good companion, Christianity, have been tried the world round through the years, and wherever they have been tried with intelligence and understanding, they have proven astonishingly successful. They may not produce perfection, but they do produce, in measures otherwise unknown, order and general well-being and, above all, respect for human rights and personalities.

We of Georgia and of the South in general have special, acute reason to be aware of the "socialist, misleading, undemocratic workings of this Big Government philosophy. For our section has been made the whipping-boy of those political theorists and pressure groups who insist that our social pattern of segregation has not only outlived its usefulness but is no less completely alien to the principles of the American Constitution. We have been made the whipping-boy because our people, rightfully in accord with American tradition, have refused to accept the integration of races concept for public schools even after the United States Supreme Court rendered a decision to the effect that segregation no longer had any legal status under the Constitution.

The most recent rulings of the High Court on this issue, which decided in advance a case not yet argued before it and which still is in process of being contested in a lower court, makes this disagreeable point crystal clear. That, in the Court's mind, the individual States and communities of this nation have no freedom of choice whatsoever with respect to integration; that integration must proceed at once and those who will resist it will do so at the expense of public education as the United States has known it for many, many years.

Imperious Court

To reach this stark conclusion, this imperious Court has arrogantly set itself against Constitutional, judicial and social tradition. By employing a force doctrine it has at once ruthlessly denied one of the basic freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution—freedom of association—and set itself up as a legislative body. This use of force is unashamedly naked and especially vicious, because it would hold the children of the South as hostages of the Supreme Court. In truth, the Roman Caesars never employed the hostage practice with more devastating effect. The price for not integrating is to be the education of the South's children.

Plainly, this Court and those who agree with its force policies expect Georgia and its neighbors to throw in the towel—if not immediately, then eventually as the harmful consequences of our bombed-out educational system mount. Under these shattered conditions, they believe that the people of the South will not have the stamina or the courage to fight back; they believe that our present stand on principle in this matter is a subterfuge, is really built on the shifting muck and mire of evasion and prejudice and that, lacking

principle, we will yield and we will conform.

Is this to be the humbling close of our way of life in the South? Is it true that you and I are without conviction and are meek prisoners of a melancholy history? Is it true that we are without comfort and convenience above Constitutional principle? Or do we feel the need arising within us to throw this force doctrine back into the teeth of the Court and proclaim boldly that our beliefs and our resources are such that we will continue to stand on principle and fight for our inherited rights as doggedly as those who came before us?

All-Out Onslaught

It will not be an easy fight. We are going to be tormented and ridiculed even as we are going to be coaxed and cajoled. We are going to be described as lawless, as outlanders in the American scheme of things, as callous wreckers of our children's futures. We will probably even be threatened with economic and political reprisals in the nature of propaganda asserting that the South is a wasteland, a derelict, which offers no opportunity and has precious little influence.

This, admittedly, is a discouraging prospect. But, if we believe in ourselves as free men, as bold shapers of our destiny, then we simply cannot grovel before this looming punishment. We must hold our heads high, join our hands in unbreakable lock and spit in Earl Warren's eye.

It is our heritage that we are resourceful. It is our heritage that we reserve our traditions of individual freedom. It is our heritage that our strength mounts in proportion to the adversity that is thrust upon us. I say that we will not desert this heritage, that we will find a way out of this cruel dilemma because we have the imagination, the intelligence and the will of free men, who have never let any person or thing push us off our feet. In the long run, it will be the force of our sturdy example that will win this fight for us—because working with us will be established traditions of American justice and American law, and working against the Big Government boys will be their vaulting political ambitions, their greed for unrestrained power and the violence that they meanly do to a free society which, soon or late, has always reacted against unprincipled dictation.

Plight of The Court

Actually, the High Court, it seems to me, is caught in a most embarrassing paradox of its own making, and its efforts to extricate itself are so frantic and so without legal precedent that increasingly its only defense and only refuge can be a thunderous insistence that its opinion is unassailable by legal recourse or even by public expression. The High Court demands that its controversial decision be sustained because tradition requires that the figure of the Court as an impartial arbiter not be defaced, lest our Federal system of checks and balances suffer irreparable damage. And yet, through its own wandering actions affecting adversely the nice balance between Federal and State authority, which have invited the stern criticism of thirty-six State Supreme Court Justices, the Supreme Court has plainly elected to throw judicial tradition to the wild winds as impetuously as any raging revolutionist.

In short, this particular Court very much wants the hallowed protection of tradition to maintain its prestige and its dignity and its acceptance before the American people. But, at the same time, it wants the right to kick that tradition squarely in the seat of the pants when it chooses to enter legislative fields and tamper deliberately with the fundamental tenets of the American system.

Floundering Court

If the High Court cannot make up its mind whether it is judge or advocate, umpire or prosecutor, how, by all that is rational, can it expect the public to be understanding or appreciative? Most probably even the sheltered members of this Court might obtain a sobering view of the spectacle that their uneven, reckless gait has provided if they were individually not so preoccupied with partisan political issues, experiments in controlled economics and controlled sociology as well as a bloated sense of self-importance.

Not challenge a dubious decision of this Court because the legal lackeys of this Court say that we would thus be showing a gigantic disrespect for law and order? There is a mackerel-like stink to that logic! Why, we English-speaking peoples are heirs to the largest heritage of the habits and traditions and skills of self-government that there has ever been in the world. And now at this moment of conflict we should suddenly forget our past and gag our protest and meekly allow our freedoms to be diluted? That is garbage for the mob, not intelligence for the independent American!

We must take resolute, unwavering issue with this High Court because, in the circumstances, our honor, our beliefs, our sense of history really gives us no other

choice.

Big Government Boys

One of the sad ironies of this constant lecturing by the Big Government boys to the South on what is the law and what is not, and what constitutes defiance of the law and what constitutes a suitable acceptance of its authority, is the fact that the lecturers themselves have been the first to wield the mailed fist, the use of which they previously deplored through reams and reams of parliamentary language.

And let's get this straight before we are brain-washed by the lame pleadings of the President that he just had to send troops to Little Rock to preserve law and order. In retrospect, it can be appreciated clearly that the soldiers came to Little Rock, Arkansas, for one overriding reason: Because police and military tyranny is inevitable when the good people of any community cease to cohere by their own moral unity and their own moral assent. It is always dangerous in our kind of society to invoke the sanction of law for some measure which runs strongly counter to the desires and feelings of large numbers of people who certainly cannot be airily dismissed as so many professional criminals.

Actually, there was no thinking person in the South who did not deplore the violence that swirled around Little Rock. It was a storm of ugliness and hate. Its gusts stirred emotions that are powerful enough to mock and caricature the very fundamentals of the American system of Government which all of us respect. More than the social and legal order of Little Rock was madly raked by the claws of this elemental wildness. Directly in the storm's erratic path is the law of the United States and the laws of the individual States.

Vanity and Self-Esteem

There is no doubt that the Big Government boys own a large stock of vanity and self-esteem. They contend that the leaders of the South—which, incidentally, has to deal with the racial problem as a practical matter of human relationships, and not just as an academic exercise—do not know the law at all, and that they instead are the all-wise, all-knowing purveyors of what is just and good. Mainly, at this time, they advise that there is nothing of value to be learned from our nation's accumulated wisdom and experience, even from our Anglo-Saxon instincts that are also the legacy of the past. They assert that our America will be a much better place in which to live—if we constantly strive to revise, remodel, reshape and remake established standards and institutions, using as our guide only the theories generated by pure reasoning, brushing aside as worthless or even harmful all elements of tradition.

The Supreme Court, of course, followed the artificial philosophy of these Big Government boys to the very letter in its anti-segregation decision. First, it gassed up the motor of its legal vehicle with vague sociological and psychological theories about "equality" and then drove it like a tank over all judicial precedent and all judicial continuity. The explanation of this savage treatment is, according to our cynically genial Chief Justice Warren, that the social theory involved is so overwhelmingly right and desirable that, by golly, if it isn't in the Constitution, it darn well ought to be.

Now what manner of legal "hogwash" is that? Old stalwarts of the Court, like Holmes and Brandeis and Hughes and Cardozo and Stone, must have rolled over in their graves in protest to this calculated nonsense handed down by an unctuous politician turned legal acrobat.

Activities of The NAACP

As to the politics of this situation, I do not need to labor the point of the activities of the NAACP or the obnoxious manner in which the controlled Negro bloc is being avidly sought. To my mind, the recent incident of Martin Luther King's stabbing and hospitalization in New York City capsules the whole degrading business. As soon as King was stricken, appearing in his hospital room on the dead run with that in hand were Averell Harriman, Governor of New York; Nelson Rockefeller, gubernatorial nominee of New York; Republicans; Mayor Robert Wagner; the City's Police Commissioner, and their several attendants. In fact, there were so many political hopefuls of assorted sizes and shapes in that one bedroom that it is reported that one nurse had to swing on a chandelier to take the patient's temperature, and King's Alabama relatives had to yell "Fire, Fire!" in order to gain admittance!

But let us not be fooled into treating this practice with just amused scorn. There is enough explosive danger in this kind of cheap political and judicial thinking to blow our Constitutional system of checks and balances up into smithereens. For it is this Court acting on fundamental Constitutional issues wholly without re-

(Continued on Page 3)

Roman Caesars Never Forced More Diabolical Methods On Their Captives

(Continued from Page 2)

straint, can do what it has already done with regard to the long-standing principle of local and State school administration, then make no mistake of what may be ahead of us in the immediate future. Impossible as we thought it was, Federal troops have already been used to enforce a Court edict in the very face of American children who should never have had to undergo that sordid, humiliating experience. So is it now impossible to imagine that if the States and the local communities cannot run their public schools according to the dictated pattern, why the Federal Government will gladly assume the job?

Plot of Pressure Groups

This is the Big Government philosophy of complete take-over. It is what the pressure groups like the NAACP really want. For there is the highly sensitive place where the repulsive idea of all-powerful, central authority can, by cunning, repetitious teaching, be made to appear like a never-dry fountain of milk and honey—in the minds of the young and the impressionable. If the Federal Government, by whatever means, whether by Court order or by money hand-outs for new school buildings, can ever come into your County or my County of Dougherty and tell you and me under what designs our children should go back to school, and what methods they should be taught, I say that a vast area of freedom will then be denied to the American people. When American minds are chained, we will then become something of which our forefathers never dreamed. We will become something, in fact, against which they struggled with all their might and main.

In my opinion there is a basic principle of American life involved here that cannot be dismissed as merely sectional prejudice. It resides primarily in an opposition to the so-called "liberalism of the Big Government boys today whereby the power of the Federal Government has been enlarged on the theory that anything and everything that supposedly benefits the "general welfare" is automatically Constitutional, irrespective of what was decided before as to the rights of individuals and the rights of States.

Truly, the central problem that has to be faced by you and me assembled here, and by other men of good will and substance in other parts of the country, is how this nation of ours, given its sectional differences in habits and customs in accordance with the original free American pattern, is going to live together in harmony. The national law about which we have heard so much—to the exclusion of all else in this case, incidentally—is but one aspect of the problem. And if officials in Washington insist on viewing it from this narrow vantage point, we may be sure that justice and reason will be a long time in coming. Certainly, the Big Government boys are dramatizing the difficulty with politically designing pleas for law and order, on one hand, and the skillful use of the whip and the black-jack on the other. But for those of us who must live on the ground with a most delicate issue of human association, we can shake our heads sorrowfully at such display of haughty displeasure and point meaningfully in anguish at past incidents in our history when compulsion ripped the very heart out of common sense.

Only One Answer

In sum, then, it can be agreed that you and I are consigned to live and act in times of extreme and pressing gravity when long-held traditions and precedents of our American society are being regarded as feeble and suspect in high political places. Change—and mostly just for the sake of change—is knowingly said to be the proper order of the day by those political, economic and social revolutionists who preach that our old institutions and our old ideals of separation and individualism are simply not good enough for the Atomic Age. Actually, if these theorists spoke to you in complete candor, it would be to the effect that our kind of individualistic society has been indeed fortunate to last as long as it has, that its strength was rooted mostly in an accident of geography which gave us natural defenses, but now the marvels of science have undone all that and our outmoded beliefs and institutions simply do not have the power to keep us a going concern in today's world.

There can be only one answer to these security-minded croakers of doom, who so freely and captiously question the wis-

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

tinued to get so many votes that there was a possibility he might become a city's mayor?

"Why, in the city of Philadelphia, is there no recognition of the Negro at the policy-making level in the field of youth work, though the party in power is maintained there by the blind vote of Democratic Negro voters?"

I would like to tell this Negro why.

All these brotherhood groups and love-thy-neighbor groups are preaching and shouting against segregation. But when it comes right down to that last step of taking them into the bosom of their families they are against it.

When it comes down to the question of mixing the races so as to destroy both the white and the Negro races and creating a race of mulattoes, the white man can't stomach it.

He asked why a Negro councilman had been elected in Cincinnati for a period of fifteen years and suddenly the people in his ward turned on him and voted him out of office. I can answer that question. The Negro councilman was acceptable to the white people of his ward until the Negro started pushing into the white neighborhood of Cincinnati and trying to invade all of the schools and the other public institutions.

So long as the Negroes were content to be segregated in their residential areas in Cincinnati the people were willing for him to be in city council. It is understood that he made a good record as a councilman, but in view of the tensions that exist at the present time and the Negro's efforts to push himself on the white man, the people of this ward wanted no Negro in a high place in their city.

Likewise, the city of Philadelphia is living in a state of fear. The Negroes are pushing out into white neighborhoods and running people away from the homes in which they were born and reared and they are resentful of it.

They are victims of the philosophy that there is such a thing as a little bit of race mixing. They are content with a little bit of race mixing, but when the hordes of Negroes began to overflow their communities they fled as if fleeing from a plague.

This Negro ought to know why.

He himself expressed it very well.

He states that all individuals are interested in the Negro's making progress but never when he becomes a part of the whole society. He recognizes that they are for better housing for Negroes, but they don't want too many Negroes in their own neighborhood.

Here's how he expressed it:

"In all these individuals, whether they are for the Negro or against him, their attitude always implies acts of specific direction for one group or the other, and never for the entire society.

"I am convinced that these concepts are widely held by many of the estimated 15 million non-Negroes. They are not only found among the supporters of the program of a Faubus or Almond. They are found in many of our race-relations organizations. They profess to do good. They constantly rave about the progress of the Negro. They are for Negroes moving into better housing, provided too many don't move it—they are the quota citizens."

This Negro leader expressed the aim of the Negroes and the aim of the Negroes is the "why" white people, both North and South, are opposed to race mixing.

Here's what he said:

"We must understand that Negroes are as concerned for the future of America as any other individual member of its melting pot."

Now, the "melting pot" is the "why".

White people, both North and South, object to being thrown into a melting pot with the Negro.

White people would like to preserve the white race. They would like to preserve the Negro race.

The white people of America are opposed to a race of mulattoes.

Yet, that is what these Negroes are after and that's why there can be no understanding satisfactory to such Negroes as the writer of this article.

Now, these do-gooders will meet with them. They will form brotherhood societies, they will form love-thy-neighbor movements, but when it comes down to going that last mile and seeing their children thrown into the melting pot, they revolt.

Now, the Negro ought to be as opposed to being thrown into the melting pot as the white man is. He ought to be proud of his own race and interested in preserving his own race.

But these Negroes, like the writer of this article, are ashamed of their own race. They are out to destroy their own race. They are out to destroy the white race.

(Continued on Page 4)

dom of America's past and place all their trust in their own powers of reason and in free-wheeling experimentation. And that answer is this: If the self-governing traditions are so very bad, then why is it in the world today that agony is the lot of most nations, while in the United States life is more worth living for the average man than anywhere else?

I think that what is happening in too many areas of our United States today under the impact of negative and defensive and often frightened opinion of these cold-war years, is the falsification of the image that the American people have long held of themselves as guardians of the self-governing habit. We are a generation that is perplexed; we are a generation that is coming to be rootless and morose because we have neglected too many of our history's good beliefs. Individualism,

or the right to be different, which was once a word spoken with pride by every American who had the right to claim it, has now become a word spoken with timidity and doubt and has even been made to tip its hat in servile deference to that precious, counterfeit word of the dictators—"equality"—whatever that may mean. And freedom, which, in the old days, was something that you used with pride, has now become something that you must hoard like a miser—something you lock away with your other possessions, like a deed to a piece of property, or a bond in a bank.

Social Soothsayers

Presently, in talking to the South, the Big Government boys and their social soothsayers want to give you a measure of that so-called modern "security" in the form of enlarged social justice. But you

know how you will get it, don't you? Big Government can, in fact, only control, conduct and take responsibility for social justice if it penetrates the social order of every community, if it sits in every business office or club room or schoolhouse, if it chairmans every social gathering, if it controls the funds by which society itself functions, if it puts a furtive finger into every nook and cranny of community order. And, as good, hard-thinking Americans, we can all agree, can we not, that this is a marriage out of nature for our democracy; its offspring is a bastard and a sterile thing. And this blind, shuffling, brutish creature wears a chain around its neck with that hideous name-tag we must recognize as totalitarianism.

In all our considerations, let us remember this one thing about our presence in history: That the essential condition of America's swift development and unusual progress has been freedom—freedom to make social choices, freedom to promote our economy, freedom to elect our rulers. Freedom made America great, and that freedom gets its initial thrust and energy from the flexible and unregulated interplay of personal vitalities. Efforts to suppress this proper function inevitably produce the moral tensions, disorders and confusions that you and I are experiencing in mounting crescendo today.

Our answer to the Big Government boys and the social revolutionists must be written in these big, bold words of warning: That Americanism is not, and never has been, a totalitarian faith, which can impose from the top any single economic, political or social dogma or require a uniformity in observance from its many diverse peoples. Compulsion of that kind went out the window for America when our forefathers rejected the devices of crowns and thrones and scepters, when they decided that our Government was an operation to be conducted best at the common level, when they demanded that our public officials be treated as men and not as heathen mummies embalmed for the worship of marshaled mobs.

Throat-Choking Legal Leash

You and I are not criminals to be penalized; we are not dogs to be whipped; we are not unthinking violators of our social order; we are not knaves who are to be led around by a throat-choking legal leash. We are free men, certain of our cause, proud of our independent past and confident of our ability to develop a future that will enrich ourselves and those who will succeed us. This is the appeal that we must fling out to the free-thinking peoples of other States who, from disassociation, may not appreciate completely the complexity of our racial problem, but who certainly will come to understand that a fighting, dedicated Southern people deserve a fair and unbiased hearing. In the long run, it will be our unyielding fortitude that will impress our friends in other sections of our country—not our lamentations.

And, fortunately, we have the leaders of character and diligence and foresight and courage to help us do our job. On the Washington scene we have a Russell, we have a Talmadge, we have a Vinson, we have a Brown, we have a Forrester, we have a Landrum, we have a Pilcher, we have a Davis, we have a Preston, we have a Blitch, we have a Flynt, we have a Mitchell—and right here at home, we have a Vandiver and a Byrd.

We Democrats of Georgia have a splendid opportunity to speak and act in time of crisis for the genuinely American concept of personal freedom, which places the highest of value on such democratic ideals as voluntary action, moral conscience and peaceful accommodation of clashing viewpoints, and which shrinks in revulsion from the death-dealing illusions of enforced security, police bureaucracy and legal despotism that have too often composed the style of Government in our world's history. The test to our mettle, to our stamina, to our sense of fitness in this task is going to be severe, but realizing that, we can gain increased determination to persevere from the good, wise convictions of those hardy souls who came before us.

After all, the greatness of this country lies not in its material resources, but in its men, who have been permitted variety of energy and variety of expression. Therein rests the real meaning of our America—its amplitude, its generosity of mind and spirit, its leaping ingenuity, its innate feeling for order, its hopeful beckoning sign in today's tortured world. This America of ours will never, never die struggling for its beliefs. Our America will perish only when its beliefs perish.

Eisenhower, Dewey And Adams Liquidated Republican Party

Miserable Outfit Aped Truman And Other Leftwingers In Both Parties

Eisenhower, Tom Dewey, Sherman Adams and the other "modern Republicans", have liquidated the Republican Party.

All the evidence is in and this verdict became conclusive in the elections of November 4, 1958.

These "modern Republicans" liquidated their party by aping the Democrats.

Now the apes have been repudiated. The Republicans aped all the policies of the Democrats, with the exception of Benson's Farm Program. The Benson Farm Program is the only point of divergence between the "modern Republicans" and the leftwing Democrats.

Followed Truman

That's the only difference.

When Eisenhower came into office they continued all of the Truman policies, with the exception of the farm program. They made no change.

Like the leftwing Democrats, the "modern Republicans" were for high taxes and big spending. Under the Republicans, the taxes are even higher and the spending is more than it was under Truman or Roosevelt. Like the leftwing Democrats, the "modern Republicans" back the decision of the Supreme Court on race mixing.

The "modern Republicans" entered into a contest with the Democrats to see who could tax more, spend more and which could be the more ruthless in trying to ram race mixing down the throats of the white people.

Stacked Supreme Court

Up until the time of Eisenhower and the "modern Republicans", the leftwing Democrats did more talking than anything.

Eisenhower's moderates stacked the Supreme Court and produced the decision.

The Eisenhower-Dewey-Adams moderates used the National Guard and the paratroopers to force nine little Negroes into the Central High School at Little Rock and kept eight of them there by force for a nine months' period.

Eisenhower's moderates joined up with the leftwing Democrats to pass a force bill, under the guise of civil rights, to force race mixing on the white people of the nation.

The Farm Program

The "modern Republicans" believed that by taking the program of the Democratic Party, with the exception of the farm program, and trying to be more radical than the leftwingers that they would be able to capture the Jewish, the Negro and the other minority votes and maintain themselves in power in the United States from now on.

But after they had adopted and put into effect all of the leftwing policies they failed to get the leftwing vote, or the Jewish vote, or the Negro vote, or the votes of any of the other so-called minority blocs.

Consequently, the Republican Party went down to an ignominious defeat over the nation as a whole on Tuesday, November 4, 1958.

Liquidated The Party

This date marked the complete liquidation of the Republican Party.

Realizing the fact that the "modern Republicans" had liquidated the party, several Republican members of the United States Senate refused to run again and many members of the House retired and refused to run again.

Some hearty folks, like Knowland of California, undertook to lead a revolt against the "modern Republicans" and to take a stand on his idea of what Republicans should stand for.

This split the Republicans in California down the middle and, as a result, the Democrats had a clean sweep in California.

Leftwing Radicals

This liquidation of the Republican Party has now turned the Government of the United States over to the leftwing radicals.

Instead of "modern Republicans" we now have the leftwing Democrats in control of the nation's government.

The program of the "modern Republicans" so disgusted many old-time Republicans until they either stayed at home

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

They are only interested in promoting a melting pot and even these brotherhood groups and love-thy-neighbor groups are for it all until it gets up to their doorsteps.

They are opposed to throwing their own children into this melting pot. That's why they can organize all these fellowship organizations, all these brotherhood agencies and all these love-thy-neighbor movements and they can have all these hypocrites speaking out against segregation.

But when it comes to going into the melting pot even these fanatical brotherhood and fellowship and love-thy-neighbor folks stop at that last milepost.

Now, as soon as the white people find out the objectives of such Negro leaders as the writer of this article, then racial tensions and misunderstandings become acute.

Now, we know that it is hard for this Negro to understand all of these things. He goes to these brotherhood, fellowship and love-thy-neighbor meetings and then when he comes out he must say as he did in this article:

"Racial tensions and misunderstandings have never been so acute."

And he asks why!

The "why" is the melting pot.

And this Negro says this about these lovers of the Negro:

"These lovers of the Negro are often more dangerous to the welfare of the country than those who profess to hate the Negro. In many instances these persons with their professed love will give him a job in their plant, and keep him on that job for his entire life with no opportunity for individual growth."

All this race mixing propaganda hasn't helped the Negro. The writer of the article in U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT frankly admits it when he says:

"We are aware that in most Northern cities jobs which once included Negroes have suddenly vanished."

Now, this Negro can't understand why.

Why is it that Negroes used to be able to get jobs they can't touch now?

The answer is because they are trying to push themselves on the white people and force a melting of the white and Negro races into a race of mulattoes.

So long as the Negro was content to be a Negro Northern people were willing to give him jobs. As soon as he became dissatisfied at being a Negro and sought to be something else, then they let him slip out of the jobs in sensitive positions and positions where he came in close contact with white people.

I have news for this Negro leader. There will be fewer and fewer jobs for Negroes in the Northern cities in the future than at the present where the job itself brings the Negro into close or intimate contact with white people.

There was a time that in most any hotel one entered the bellboys and porters were Negroes.

When this race mixing scheme started the Negro bellboys became insolent to white people and tried to be on an intimate basis with white women.

Now Negro bellboys are fast becoming a thing of the past. Negro porters are fast becoming a thing of the past.

This is true because white men and white women fear the Negro bellboys and porters entering the hotel bedrooms while they occupy them.

The pushing of the Negro into the life of the white man is forcing the white man to push the Negro just as far away from him as he possibly can.

This is true in the North as well as in the South.

I can write better about the South because I know more about it and because I know more Southern people.

I know whole communities where they are getting together and deliberately planning to ease the Negroes out of their jobs and to gradually work white people into them. They are determined to rid the communities of a lot of their Negroes.

They fear the consequences of a large percentage of Negro population. They are determined that their children shall not be thrown into the melting pot.

This Negro pleads for understanding. The white man understands. This Negro cannot understand.

Sensible white people understand that these Negro leaders are after creating a melting pot.

Sensible white people know that these Negro leaders are not pleading for understanding. They are pleading for the acceptance of the idea of a melting pot.

This the white man will not accept. He will not accept it this year, or ever.

If understanding means acceptance of the melting pot, there will never be any understanding.

or voted for the Democrats. They could see no sense in making a choice between tweedledum and tweedledee.

Those of this class who did vote on November 4, voted for the Democratic candidates to show their disgust at their own party.

The Miserable Outfit

The truth of the matter is the United States has had only one party since Eisenhower has been in office despite the fact that the governors, senators and congressmen have paraded under the label

of either Democrats or Republicans. In most instances you couldn't tell the difference.

The "modern Republicans" efforts to out-do the leftwing Democrats in taxing and spending and race mixing became a miserable flop and now we will get our taxing and spending and efforts at race mixing from the leftwing Democrats.

There is little reason for any tears to be shed even by the most fanatic Republican over the liquidation of this miserable outfit of "modern Republicans".

People Struggling To Make A Living; Many Are Unable To Meet Tax Bills

(Continued from Page 1)

voted for constitutional amendments in the State of Georgia.

There was no organization at the polls working for the adoption of the amendments.

The people said nothing. They walked into the voting booths and quietly struck them down.

Can't Meet Tax Bills

The average person today is behind with his taxes. He owes the federal government, he owes the state, he owes the cities and the counties and is unable to pay his tax bill.

In plain language, he is ready to revolt. He is damned tired of having his back broken with exorbitant taxes.

The first chance the people of the nation get to express themselves on federal taxes, they are going to strike them down.

A casual perusal of the Acts of the Georgia Legislature at its session of 1958 will disclose that a great volume of the bills passed dealt with giving public officials increases in pay, establishing retirement funds and pensions and then providing higher and additional pensions.

Government Extravagance

This trend in government has been going on for many years.

The pay of all government officials and all government employees has been continually increased. Their expense accounts have been increased and there seems to be no end to this continual spiral of wage raises for government, state, county and municipal employees.

As long as times were flourishing, the people endured and said nothing.

But during 1957 and 1958 the shoes of the taxpayer have been pinching. He hasn't had enough money to get along, to pay his obligations, to support his family and to pay the exorbitant taxes which have been rammed down his throat.

The results of the vote on these amendments in Georgia on November 4 is a clear indication that the people are ready to revolt against paying taxes and they are tired of supporting municipal, county, state and government employees.

Hard To Make A Living

Their number is increasing by leaps and bounds.

It is harder for the individual citizen to make a living than ever and every day droves of people are out hunting a place where they can get on the public payroll.

The election in Georgia on November 4, 1958 ought to be a lesson to every local, county, state and government politician in this nation.

This could mean a revolt which will put all the rascals who are in now out as fast as the folks can get to them.

WE NEED YOUR HELP

The more subscribers we have, the more people we can keep working to restore constitutional government in the United States, to restore sanity to our courts, and to preserve our segregated way of life in the South.

No one can read THE AUGUSTA COURIER regularly without being an evangelist for our cause.

We have no paid solicitors and are dependent entirely upon our readers and friends for our subscribers.

Won't you help us in this great cause by getting at least three or four of your friends to subscribe and send their subscriptions in to the Courier right away?

Roy V. Harris, Editor

SUPREME COURT OUGHT TO BE IMPEACHED—SEE YOUR CONGRESSMAN



THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2

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No. 565

National Democratic Committee Head Plans To Destroy Racial Segregation

AFL-CIO Official Reveals Plan To Jail Southern People Who Refuse To Submit To Racial Mixing In Public Schools

Labor Union Money Will Be Used To Wage War On White Citizens Of South, Speaker Says

The AFL-CIO has declared war on segregation and the white people of the South.

In a speech to the Jewish Labor Committee in Forest Park, Pennsylvania, in May, 1958, William F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO announced what most of us have already known—that the AFL-CIO had declared war on the white people of the South.

Schnitzler says they propose to take the workers' money and use it to end segregation in the schools. Here's what he said:

Labor Union Money
"We of the AFL-CIO are pictured in the South as an organization that uses workers' money to end segregation in the schools. This is based on a grain of truth. The AFL-CIO does use its resources for, and will continue to use its resources in its fight to achieve an end to segregation in our schools."

This Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO declares it to be their object to put those of us who oppose segregation in jail and keep us there.

Further, they say that we must be eliminated.

In his speech, Schnitzler said: "The prejudiced white racists and white supremacists can be, and they must be, eliminated."

Method Not Given
How he proposes to eliminate us, he does not say: But it sounds like liquidation to us.

Schnitzler also declares war on President Eisenhower because he does not put us all in jail and force race mixing in the public schools.

He seems to indicate that the AFL-CIO will give us a President next time who will put us in jail and who will take the Armed Forces and mix the children in the public schools.

In this connection, he said: "It will be the duty of our next duly elected President to lead, and he will be committed and dedicated to this task even before he is nominated as a candidate for that high office."

Plans To Jail People
Here is what this Schnitzler-would-be-Hitler, who proposes to take the money of Southern union labor and use it to put its own members in jail and force race mixing in the public schools of the South, said:

As every good unionist knows, the Soviet Union has accused the United States of the denial of civil rights for our Negro Citizens.

Says U. S. Hands Are Bloody
Isn't it ironic? The Communists are accusing the United States of America of civil rights violations against our Negro

(Continued on Page 2)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

I don't believe in ghosts in the usual acceptance of the term. But there is a kind of ghost that I do believe in. The shades of the past come back to haunt us sometimes. Instead of being a departed spirit returning, it is the tracks that we have made coming back to haunt us. I have had to face a lot of these kind of ghosts in my day and most people have, too.

On Sunday, June 15, 1958, the ghost of another day returned to haunt the Atlanta Constitution and Mr. Ralph McGill, its editor.

In a feature article appearing in the Atlanta Constitution on that date, written by Marion Gaines, we find the following:

"The aftermath of the War Between the States left a poverty-stricken Georgia, and Southland spreadeagled beneath the heels of carpetbaggers, scalawags and military occupation.

"Three years after Appomattox these conditions gave birth to The Atlanta Constitution, which was founded for the avowed purpose of helping restore constitutional government to a ravaged Georgia and Dixie."

The occasion of this article was the observance of the 90th anniversary of the Constitution.

Its first edition appeared on June 16, 1868. Colonel Carey W. Styles was its first editor and in his first editorial, he said:

"Our name, The Constitution, at once suggests to the thoughtful reader the grand idea that gave birth to the experiment of a new paper in Atlanta."

In June, 1868, the federal Congress had passed its force bills and divided the South into five military districts and the entire South was under the rule of-union troops.

The old confederate soldiers were disfranchised and the soldiers registered the Negroes, the carpetbaggers and the scalawags and under the protection of federal bayonets, the carpetbaggers, the scalawags and the Negroes took over the entire government of the Southern states.

At that time the federal Congress undertook to place the Negro in the saddle and to crush the white people of the South.

At that time, they ignored the Constitution of the United States.

At that time the Congress passed these illegal and unconstitutional acts and called them the law of the land.

Federal troops were sent into the South to enforce this so-called law of the land and to place the heel of the Negro on the necks of the white men, women and children of the South.

Marion Gaines in his article says that in 1868 Georgia and the Southland were "spreadeagled beneath the heels of carpetbaggers, scalawags and military occupation."

And, now compare our condition today.

Georgia and the Southland are spreadeagled beneath the heels of the NAACP, the Supreme Court and the threat of military occupation again. The pattern was set in Arkansas. Eleven thousand eight hundred paratroopers and National Guardsmen were called to Little Rock to take over the Central High School and force the entrance of nine little Negroes into that school.

This was done at the direction of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People under a decision of the Supreme Court.

This time, the federal authorities called the Supreme Court decision

(Continued on Page 3)

Harry Truman, Mrs. Roosevelt Praised By Butler In Palo Alto Talk

Paul Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, declares that the complete destruction of segregation depends upon the election of a Democratic President in 1960.

Speaking to the student body at Leland Stanford University, at Palo Alto, California, on May 13, 1958, he said:

"I am afraid that the record of this Administration proves that further executive leadership and administrative action to expand the area of human rights will have to await the election of the next Democratic President in 1960."

Record Reviewed
In his speech, he reviewed the record of the Democratic Party on behalf of the so-called civil rights.

He gave complete credit for the progress that has been made so far to President and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, President Harry Truman and the Democratic Party.

From this speech, the conclusion is inevitably drawn that the Democrats will from now on be telling the people of the nation that a Democratic President will completely and effectively destroy segregation, as the Republicans have not been able to do.

Backed By Reuther
In this position, Butler will have the backing of Walter Reuther and the big labor union party known as the AFL-CIO.

It is well known that Walter Reuther and the AFL-CIO completely control, dominate and own the National Democratic Party in the United States.

Butler further said:

National Party
"While the Democratic Party is a national party, and therefore contains some individuals who oppose civil rights, there can be no doubt of the overwhelming position of our leadership and rank and file on this issue or denial of the great record of achievement by our Party in this area in the past 25 years on the national, state and local levels."

"Without diminishing or trying to take credit for the vital contribution which the courts have made in advancing human rights in the areas of schools, transportation, voting and the abolition of segregation in Washington, D. C. I think it is fair to say that had it not been for the pioneering work of the Democratic Party in creating a favorable climate of opinion and the great sympathetic and unremitting moral leadership provided by President and Mrs. Roosevelt and President Truman and his epoch-making Commission on Civil Rights, most of the great advances we have made in civil rights, from whatever sources, would have been

(Continued on Page 4)

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Left-Wing Affiliations Of Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Negro Congressman From New York City

"Powell is the principal congressional spokesman of the NAACP . . ." states a Washington dispatch published in CHARLESTON NEWS & COURIER January 28, 1956.

I. REPORT OF HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE. TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. STEELE, JULY 21, 1947:

Page 36—Editor-in-Chief of PEOPLE'S VOICE, Harlem, N. Y., is Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Listed a member of the Board of Directors is Adam Clayton Powell. PEOPLE'S VOICE is a daily paper published by the Powell-Buchanan Publishing Company, 210 W. 125th Street, New York, cited as "Communist initiated and controlled."

Page 66—Adam Clayton Powell, member of board of directors of National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., cited by Attorney General as "subversive and Communist" in 1947.

Page 93—Congressman A. Clayton Powell was a speaker at the 10th annual Convention of the National Negro Congress held in Detroit, May 30 to June 2, 1946 with theme: "Death Blow to Jim Crow". National Negro Congress cited as "subversive and Communist."

Page 103—"People's Songs, Inc." includes among its agitational songs "D. T. T. . . in support of DeLacy, Powell, Marcantonio and other radicals mentioned by name . . ."—cited as a Communist front.

Page 115—"Stage for Action" cooperates with "People's Songs, Inc. . . and other Communist fronts". Adam Clayton Powell listed as a sponsor of the Philadelphia branch of "Stage for Action" established in 1946. "Cited as Communist front . . ."

Page 125—A. Clayton Powell listed as a member of the Negro organizing committee of the "International Workers' Order" (I.W.O.) which is believed to be one of the main sources of the largest sums of money "for the propagation and organization of Communist activities and publications in the United States". "Cited as subversive and communist."

Page 132—A. Clayton Powell, Jr. listed as a sponsor of "Committee for a Democratic Eastern Policy", which was cited by Attorney General Clark as Communist in 1949.

Page 135—The "Council on African Affairs", a Communist front, had as one of its members Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., along with Channing H. Tobias, board chairman of the NAACP.

Page 142—Adam Clayton Powell listed as one of the signers of the "call" to the National Congress on Civil Rights held in Detroit, April 27 and 28, 1946, which formed the "Civil Rights Congress" cited as "subversive and Communist."

II. UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE OF CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE FOURTH REPORT, 1948:

Page 96—A. Clayton Powell listed as affiliated with "Allied Voters Against Coudert", a Communist front.

Page 114—Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., listed as affiliated with "American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born", a Communist front.

Page 151—Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., listed as affiliated with American League for Peace and Democracy, a Communist front, which was dissolved in 1940 and succeeded by:

Page 327—The National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, a Communist front of which Rev. A. Clayton Powell is listed as a sponsor and member of the Executive Committee.

Page 169—A. Clayton Powell, Jr., listed as a sponsor of American Relief for Greek Democracy, a Communist front.

Page 181—Rev. A. Clayton Powell Jr., listed as affiliated with American Youth Congress, a Communist front.

Page 186—Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., listed as a "national sponsor" of American Youth for Democracy (formerly the Young Communist League), a Communist front.

Page 196—Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., listed as a sponsor of "Celebration of 15 years Biro-Bidjan" (a Jewish Communist colony in the Soviet Union), a Communist front.

Page 352—Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., listed as a signer of "Message to the House of Representatives" in 1943 opposing renewal of the Dies Committee. Communist inspired.

Page 352—Dr. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., listed as a signer of Letter to Governor Dewey seeking a pardon for convicted Communist Morris U. Schappes.

III. ELEVENTH REPORT SENATE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION—1953 SESSION OF CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE:

Labor Union Money Will Be Used To Wage War On White Citizens Of South, Speaker Says

(Continued from Page 1)

Citizens. But what is more ironic and what is worse from any moral standpoint is the fact that the United States of America is guilty. It stands with bloody hands unconscious of its guilt. The democrats of Liberty—and the democrats of equal justice. That's the picture of our nation that we all cherish. But on the reverse side of the coin there is the ugly picture of segregation and discrimination against our Negro Citizens—evil blots upon the bright banner of our country. That's the picture we must change and that is the picture we of the AFL-CIO are going to change.

We of the AFL-CIO trade unionist movement insist that there can be no real liberty, no real democracy nor can all men be made equal until we drive the segregationists, the white supremacists and the White Citizens' Councils from our borders. Until we achieve this, full civil rights for our Negro Citizens cannot be fully attained. In this it seems, almost an act of Divine Providence that the AFL-CIO trade union movement should play a major part and an active and untiring role in this battle, for our AFL-CIO trade union movement is built upon the foundation of brotherhood. It could not otherwise hope to succeed except as a movement in which all men are to be equal in the prosperity, progress and success of the AFL-CIO is dedicated to the principle of creating first class positions for all our Negro Citizens. We of the AFL-CIO fight against the evils of segregation and discrimination, not because the Communists accuse us of civil rights violations. That, we submit is the least of the reasons why segregation and discrimination against our Negro Citizens must be eliminated. The basic reason and the only real reason for our battle is a moral one. Segregation is morally and spiritually wrong. It is unjust. It has no place in our way of life—our Southern way of life or our American way of life.

Labor Not Satisfied
We of the AFL-CIO are not satisfied with a simple pointing of the finger at guilt and then pretending that everything will eventually come around all right. Progress has been slow, but there has been progress. This progress has been both too little and too slow and if we of the AFL-CIO could promise no more than mere lip service to this cause, then we would merit condemnation by the people. In pushing toward our goal of complete equality for all, there are those of the South who have sought and are seeking to damage the trade union movement. In the South today we are overcoming the toughest and ugliest sort of opposition. We have stood and we will continue to stand firmly in the face of the most bitter, the most vituperative and the most desperate opposition of the world's worst racists. This opposition has grown in intensity since the historic decision of the Supreme Court in 1954. This opposition to the AFL-CIO trade union seems to have developed in the South because the trade union movement urged upon the Supreme Court to stand firm and ban segregation in the schools.

We of the AFL-CIO are pictured in the South as an organization that uses worker's money to end segregation in the schools. This is based on a grain of truth. The AFL-CIO does use its resources for, and will continue to use its resources in its fight to achieve an end to segregation in our schools.

If we of the AFL-CIO had known in 1954 as much about the opposition that we would encounter in the South as we know today, we would, nevertheless, do again exactly what we did do. We have not changed our position. We will not change our position. You should see some of the propaganda that is being distributed in the South these days. It is vile. It is vicious. It is insulting and disgusting. It condones and encourages flagrant violation of the law of the land. It is subversive and plainly incites people to do violence. If many of these purveyors of iniquity and hate really knew how near the day is that they are going to find themselves languishing in jail for incit-

ing civil disturbance and seeking to hinder the enforcement of law and order, they would cease and desist from this nefarious activity at once.

We of the AFL-CIO do not intend to compromise this matter of our principle and our principles cannot be compromised. The prejudiced white racists and white supremacists can be, and they must be, eliminated. This we know.

Overcoming Opposition
We of the AFL-CIO believe that the most effective method of overcoming this desperate opposition is the sure and certain road of education. The education of our law enforcement is the most effective method, but it is obvious that this process of education would be futile for so long as the well-spring of education to the law enforcement system itself is poisoned by the hate of the racists and segregationists. We have said the process has been slow. Of course it has been slow, but for the future the process need not be slow—it must not be—it shall not be as slow as it is today.

The Supreme Court called for enforcement with "deliberate speed". It is not the purpose of the AFL-CIO to argue with the Supreme Court in its choice of adjectives. But we of the AFL-CIO can assure that there will be more speed and henceforth, much less, or very little, deliberate stalling.

The time for further delay is past. The time for strict enforcement is here. And we will not get either speed or enforcement so long as a President of the United States gives only lip service to our objective. It is not enough for the Chief Executive of our land to say in press conferences that of course he supports the law of our land. So does every right thinking citizen.

It will be the duty of our next duly elected President to lead, and he will be committed and dedicated to this task even before he is nominated and a candidate for that high office.

Going To Punish Councils
In our land, we of the AFL-CIO submit that every citizen has a right to disagree—even with the Supreme Court. The supremacists of the white citizen's councils have a right to stand on their own private platforms and state their opinions as long as they do not take them out into the public to inflame the public. But they must be shown what the law is and be given to understand that they must obey that law. That goes for everyone.

In so far as peaceful patience and calmness is concerned the Negroes have done much, very much, better than the white racists hate mongers among them. They have conducted themselves most admirably in this their most critical hour of trial. They have stood the acid test and their reward is no less than our award of position in no less than the first class itself.

These Negro Citizens who have suffered so much for so long at the prejudiced hands of the South—And their brothers in misery in the Southwestern section of our country who are of Mexican descent—And the Chinese and Japanese descendants on our West Coast—They all know that their day of victory is near at hand—for their cause is undeniably right and just. Most encouraging of all to them is the fact that, for the first time in all the history of their long struggle, they have the force of a realistic power behind their cause.

Talks About Equality
There must be equality for these people, even before the law. There must be equality for these people for all opportunities. There must be equality for all men. And because their cause is so right they will be victorious. There will be victory for them. For when we do we achieve full equality of justice and of opportunity for these people then we will have achieved the kind of a society that the AFL-CIO is seeking. The AFL-CIO says simply but eloquently, that the AFL-CIO's basic philosophy is this:

"We call all these men brothers".
That, simply, is the philosophy of the AFL-CIO today.

Page 29—Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., signer of a "message" calling on Congress to oppose the House Un-American Activities Committee sponsored by the "National Federation for Constitutional Liberties", a Communist front. Cited by HUAC, 1947.

Page 130—Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., was among the "Party liners" signing "a call" to the Communist Fifth Congress of Youth, held in 1939 in New York City.

Page 133—Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. was a member of the "American Round Table on India", a Communist front. Cited by the HUAC as a Communist front, House Document No. 137, May 14, 1951.

Hundreds Of Negroes, Whites Fight In Pennsylvania Towns

Bloody Race Riots Bring Chaos On Memorial Day Near Philadelphia

The Northern cities are still paying a terrible price for their experiments in trying to mix the white and Negro races. And now, the city of brotherly love is being paid for its folly. Philadelphia is the scene of the latest race riots.

Philadelphia had two race riots on Memorial Day. One took place at a picnic park thirty miles North of Philadelphia. The second occurred on an excursion boat sailing down the Delaware River below Philadelphia.

Many Persons Injured
More than forty persons were injured and some of them seriously.

The first occurred when 372 Negroes went by special train from Philadelphia to Forest Park near the town of Chalfont, Pennsylvania, on a picnic. When they got there, they found fifteen thousand white picknickers already there from the Philadelphia area.

As soon as they arrived, the riot began and more than five hundred persons were engaged in the riot.

The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin said that within a few moments the park was converted into a site of terror: as some five hundred persons swung baseball bats and tire irons and hurled beer bottles and stones.

Women and Children
Women and children screamed and ran for shelter.

The police at Chalfont were unable to halt the rioting. Reinforcements were called in from the state police and from surrounding communities.

The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin further said:

"The rioters overflowed the park grounds. Scattered skirmishes were reported as far as half a mile from the park. The rioters grabbed anything that could be used for a weapon. Many swung baseball bats. Others threw beer bottles or broke them and swung them as weapons. Some hurled rocks . . .

Bottles, Stones Used
"Members of the sorority party had made their way to the train. Bottles and stones flew between the coaches and the coaches and the picnic grounds. Some 40 windows in the first two cars were broken. Window shades were ripped."

Some fifty miles down the Delaware River, two thousand passengers were aboard an excursion vessel named State of Pennsylvania.

They were on a cruise to an amusement park at Pennsville, New Jersey.

The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin said that the entire two thousand people were terrorized during the entire thirty-mile trip by gangs of white and Negro youths fighting with their fists, knives and beer can openers."

Knock-Down-Drag-Out
The Philadelphia Inquirer had this to say:

"Wielding chairs, ropes and chains ripped from the ship's equipment, the rioters at one point slugged it out on the craft's three decks . . . The crew was forced to turn high-pressure fire hoses on the struggling mass of men. Many non-combatants were drenched or injured as they struggled in vain to escape the furious battles.

"Order was restored after some 25 State and Pennsville police wielding night sticks boarded the ship at Pennsville . . . Police quoted Capt. Edward Savarin, commander of the excursion boat, as saying: 'It was the worst fight' he had seen in 45 years."

The people of Philadelphia cannot understand why violence suddenly erupts when Negroes and whites in large numbers are thrown together.

They cannot understand why there exists such a feeling of hatred between the races.

Northern Whites Rebel
They seem to think that the white people ought to be willing to take the Negroes in their community and to mix with them socially, go to school with them and marry them without any trouble and any argument.

Philadelphia has a Commission on Human Relations and it has been trying to sell the white people on the idea of accepting the Negroes as neighbors and mixing with them.

However, the commission today admits that it is still impossible to sell Northern whites on the idea of living next door to Negroes.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

"the law of the land".

The military occupation at Little Rock is the pattern which the NAACP hopes to use throughout the South. Eisenhower and his modern Republicans have fallen for this illegal and unconstitutional use of force to try to put the heel of the Negro again on the necks of the white men, women and children in the South.

This Supreme Court decision is just as illegal as the acts of Congress passed under the leadership of old Thad Stevens back in the '60's.

The same condition exists today that existed in 1868.

And, as Marion Gaines says, these conditions, as they existed in 1868, "gave birth to The Atlanta Constitution."

The Atlanta Constitution was founded "for the avowed purpose of helping restore constitutional government to a ravaged Georgia and Dixie."

In his first editorial, the editor of the Constitution said: "Our name, The Constitution, at once suggests to the thoughtful reader the grand idea that gave birth to the experiment of a new paper in Atlanta."

The "grand idea" in naming this paper the Constitution was to emphasize the purpose and the mission of the paper.

The purpose and the mission of the paper was to restore the Constitutional and Constitutional government in America.

And now there are those of us who have banded together in Georgia and in the South for the purpose of restoring constitutional government in America a second time.

Everything we have done in our efforts to restore constitutional government has been criticized and has met the vigorous opposition of the present-day editor of the Constitution, Mr. McGill.

He has taken the Constitution and twisted it from its original, hallowed purposes and aims.

Originally, it paid no attention to the cry that the force bills passed by the Congress were the law of the land.

It set out to repeal and do away with those Acts of Congress.

It was a "grand idea". It was a hallowed purpose and that purpose prevailed.

The restoring of constitutional government and the winning of that fight by the Atlanta Constitution and all other great newspapers of the South at that time gave us civilization, our way of life and our economy in the South.

At the time of the birth of the Constitution, there was no such thing as civilization in the South.

In 1868, the unscrupulous carpetbaggers, scalawags and the illiterate and ignorant Negroes literally had their heels on the necks of the innocent people of the South.

The people of the South at that time didn't say that the Acts of Congress were the law of the land. The Atlanta Constitution didn't take the position that the Acts of Congress were the law of the land.

On the other hand, the Atlanta Constitution said that these Acts of Congress were illegal, unconstitutional and unconscionable. The Atlanta Constitution set out to have them repealed or set aside.

The Atlanta Constitution set out to restore the Constitution itself and to restore constitutional government in America.

They were opposed by the carpetbaggers, the scalawags, the Negroes and the soldiers at that time.

Today we are likewise determined to restore constitutional government in the United States.

We are today tired of being spreadeagle beneath the heels of the NAACP, the Supreme Court and the Eisenhower Republicans.

But, we have no hope of any better treatment by Walter Reuther's Democratic Party.

Walter Reuther owns, controls and directs the Democratic Party and he and the AFL-CIO have declared war on the people of the South and say that they intend by force to enforce the illegal, unconstitutional decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

They are undertaking to place the heel of the Negro on the necks of the white men, women and children of the South again just as they undertook to do it in 1868.

Now, as then, the carpetbaggers, the scalawags and the Communists, the ultra-liberals, the Communist sympathizers and Ralph McGill and his ilk are undertaking to aid them to spreadeagle the people of the South between these vicious heels again.

Paul Butler, Chairman of the National Democratic Executive Committee, has recently stated that the Eisenhower Republicans haven't used enough force and enough troops to enforce the illegal and unconstitutional decisions of the Supreme Court.

He says at the next convention the Democratic Party is going to give us a candidate for President who will show Eisenhower how to mix us all up once again. He says that the Democratic Party in 1860 will have a candidate who knows how to enforce these illegal and unconstitutional

(Continued on Page 4)

Send Problems North
That's where the trouble comes. The South has had to struggle with the Negro problem all of these years and have received nothing for their efforts except criticism from the North.

Now the South is shipping its problem to Philadelphia, New York, Detroit and the other big cities and our former critics are now beginning to get a taste of the problem with which we have been confronted.

However, in the South, we have been

able to devise a pattern of living where-by whites and Negroes can live side by side in the same community in a state of peace and harmony and without race riots.

Same Old Story
But it is different in Philadelphia, New York and the other Northern cities.

It is the same old story everywhere—the Negroes are moving into the downtown areas and spreading out. As they crowd into the white neighborhoods, the white people resent it. The white people

Herman Talmadge REPORTS

THE SENATE INTERNAL Security Subcommittee in its 1957 Annual Report concluded that a number of decisions by the United States Supreme Court since 1956 have given comfort to Communists and criminals.

Referring specifically to those rulings which scrapped state anti-subversion laws, required Congressional investigating committees to prove the pertinency of their questions and held that mere advocacy of violent overthrow of the Government is not a crime, the Subcommittee stated: "The net of these decisions has been comfort for Communists and criminals, frustration for law-enforcement officials, serious interference with Congress self-informing function and destruction of all efforts of the American people to protect themselves against subversion at home through their state governments."

THE REPORT EMPHASIZED that the Court has attempted to establish new "rights" for persons accused of or questioned about subversive activities. It noted that in the Watkins Case the Court held that an individual's "right to privacy" is more important than Congress' need for information on Communist activity. It pointed out that in the Sweezy Case the Court ruled that "academic freedom" and "freedom of political association" are more important than the right of a state to investigate the backgrounds of its college professors.

A further point was made of the Court's insistence in the Sweezy Case that to compel a man to disclose his "past expressions and associations" constitutes governmental interference in such matters. About this the Subcommittee commented: "In other words, asking about what a man has done abridges his right to do it."

PROMPT LEGISLATIVE action to correct the errors of the Court in this field was recommended by the Subcommittee. It stressed the fact that such a course has been urged by both the National Association of Attorneys General and the Association of State Chief Justices.

"Congress," the Subcommittee declared, "has both the right and the duty to preserve and protect its own autonomy and an independent and co-equal branch of Government; to protect the rights of the States; guaranteed under the Tenth Amendment of the Constitution; and restore them where they have been wrongly abridged; and to protect the internal security of the United States to the fullest possible degree."

Only in so doing can Congress prevent further instances of what the Subcommittee called "undermining of official efforts at effective anti-Communist activity in the United States."

Herman E. Talmadge

in these neighborhoods are confronted with two alternatives:

1. They can sell their homes and move to the suburbs, or,
2. They can stand and fight.

Northern Cities
Heretofore, in most of the Northern cities as the Negroes move into a white neighborhood, the whites panic and sell their homes and move to another neighborhood where there are no Negroes.

But every now and then there comes about a situation where a neighborhood is not able to move and they stand and fight. This they did in the South Deering area of Chicago.

Then, even though the whites flee to other areas, when they hit the public parks and the public schools where they are forcibly mixed by the police law of those cities, conflict after conflict has arisen.

Bitterness Exposed
These explosions in Philadelphia have erupted suddenly and have exposed the bitterness and the hatred that exists between the two races on account of the conditions under which they must live.

Some of these days the white people in these Northern cities will learn the truth and that is that it is impossible to mix the Negroes and whites without race riots, without murder, beatings, rapes and stab-bings.

At the meantime, the white people of the Northern cities are paying a terrible price for the sociological experiments of their political leaders.

State Wide Distribution Of Industry Advocated By Vandiver

Spread Of Payrolls Needed To Give More Jobs And Strengthen Counties Economically

The people of Georgia have just scratched the surface in the development of their industrial and agricultural potentialities, according to Lieutenant Governor Ernest Vandiver.

In a speech to the American Legion in Douglas, Georgia, June 13, 1958, he said: "We must move forward with increased effort and with added vigor to assure our State's rightful place in the future industrial and agricultural economy of the nation."

Over Wide Area

The Lieutenant Governor takes a view that industry should be distributed over the State so as to give steady employment to people in the area where they live.

And then the Lieutenant Governor said: During the past ten or more years it has been my privilege to travel over Georgia, to speak before many different groups and organizations and to meet with thousands of our people from all walks of life. This has been a stimulating and inspiring experience for me.

We have talked over common problems; we have discussed mutual hopes for the advancement of educational, agricultural and industrial opportunities and how we can best work together to insure a prosperous, happy and productive future for our children, our neighbors and ourselves.

Industrial Growth

To anyone traveling over this great State of ours, one important fact becomes clear.

The trend of industrial growth to Georgia, after many years' labor on the part of all our people, is now well-established. It is certain that the surface has only been scratched in this regard.

Only a fraction of vast potentialities of our State have been realized.

Must Move Forward

But, we cannot afford to rest upon the accomplishments of the past.

We must move forward with increased effort and with added vigor to assure our State's rightful high place in the future industrial and agricultural economy of the nation.

It is a matter of deep concern to me that some of our counties, through no fault of their own, are losing population and that this loss of people is causing a decrease in business activity.

Shortage of Jobs

Because of a shortage of jobs in some of our communities young people and others are having to pick up their families and move to areas where they can make a living.

This is a matter to which all Georgians should devote thought and effort no matter whether they reside in urban or rural areas.

It is a matter of common sense that we should move in every way to buttress the economy of every section of our State. If we do not, a decline in business or farm activity in one section will inevitably affect another.

True Prosperity

I am one of those who believes that prosperity is something which should be shared by all segments of the population, for there can be no true prosperity unless farmers, city dwellers, factory workers, white collar workers and all other lines of endeavor receive a fair return for their labors in terms of purchasing power.

Georgia must continue unabated her efforts to improve the State's agriculture and to make her farms more productive.

Georgia must move to coordinate and to accelerate the efforts of all industrial groups within the State to secure sound industrial development and to make every effort to assure a proper diversification of this new productive capacity.

New Industries

The desirable end to be obtained—location of suitable new industries in those communities which do not have payrolls and need them to stabilize their present economy.

There are many ways in which your State government can be of substantial help to both our counties and our municipalities in the quest for new industries, new jobs and new payrolls.

There should be constant, active cooperation among officials at all levels of

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

Supreme Court decisions,

He says that the Democratic Party will take such a position that it will run the people of the South out of the party.

And that brings us down to some more of the whinings of the scalawag McGill.

And mind you, there never was a dirtier, more contemptible scalawag of the '60's who fought to enforce the illegal and unconscionable law of the land in the nature of Thad Stevens' force bills than is Ralph McGill today.

No dirtier or more-contemptible scalawag of the 60's and the 70's ever contributed more to the destruction of the Constitution of the United States than Ralph McGill does in his puny efforts to force the people of the South to go back on the fundamental principles upon which the Atlanta Constitution itself was founded.

He is a traitor to the forces that gave rise to the Constitution. He is a traitor to the principles upon which the paper itself was founded.

For he today cries that the illegal and unconstitutional decisions of the Supreme Court are the "law of the land".

He shouts parrot-like the language of the scalawags, the carpetbaggers and the Negroes who had the people of Georgia spreadeagle under their heels in 1868.

Now, Ralph argues all the time that we must have a two-party system in the United States.

Here is the reason why he takes this position: If his position prevails, it guarantees that the illegal and unconstitutional decisions of the Supreme Court will be enforced throughout the South by federal bayonets.

This is true because the Democratic Party is going to enforce these decisions with a greater vigor, with more soldiers, machine guns and tanks than Eisenhower and the little monkey up in Tennessee ever used.

Ralph McGill knows that under the two-party system we cannot register our protest against these decisions. He knows that under the two-party system we will never have an opportunity to vote to restore unconstitutional government.

He knows that the two-party system handcuffs the people of the South, forces race mixing in the public schools and everywhere else and destroys the Constitution.

Suppose The Atlanta Constitution and the other papers in the South in 1868 had taken the position that the Acts of Congress which were solemn laws of the time were Constitutional and the law of the land.

Where would we be today?

Now, here's some of the venomous vomit which spews out of Ralph McGill's mouth. Below we give you quotes from his column on Monday, June 9, 1958:

"The example of France would seem to be enough to discourage any plan which would erode or detract in any degree from the two-party system, which is the mudsill strength of our political form of government. But such is the emotional quality of some of our leadership that the national interest unhappily often is in second place to regional or state interests. This being true, the unarguable value and necessity of the two-party system to the American way of government will be ignored or obscured with double talk and extremist vilification.

"The future of the segregation issue will not be decided by a president, but by the courts, the school boards and the people directly involved. No president will, or can, make the decision. And to make the office of president a symbol of the issue is an unmistakable sign of almost childish political immaturity and of over-simplification . . .

"So, while it is too early to be confident about 1960, if the trend continues, then the Democratic tidal wave will be too great to be stopped by any electoral bloc vote by four or five, or even six or seven, Southern states. And it is doubtful indeed that the total could be brought that high if a national victory seems assured. If Harry Truman couldn't be defeated by a similar plan in 1948, with the votes cast for a third candidate, then a great comeback of Democratic strength would certainly not be illegal. Truman was at a very low ebb in 1948 and Gov. Tom Dewey was regarded as a sure thing . . .

"If prosperity should come round again, and high living and fat contentment again fill the air, then the GOP would benefit most by a deep-South withdrawal.

"But either way it goes, one political fact is sure—the South would not benefit either way. It is a defensive plan conceived in desperation. It is aimed at one, thing—stopping the orderly process of the two-party system in choosing a president. And that is not a good thing. It seemingly is based on the fantastic concept that the president will determine the school issue.

"But, whatever the several reasons, none is good enough to begin now a serious attempt to destroy and nullify the operation of our two-party system."

All right, folks, think it over. If you keep the two-party system you will be spreadeagled beneath the heels of the Negroes, the Supreme Court and military occupation.

Shall we follow the scalawag McGill or shall we follow the patriotic example set by the Atlanta Constitution during the first period of reconstruction?

the government to the end that the people of our State can enjoy a full measure of human security which can only be afforded through total and gainful employment either on the farm or in the factory.

As Georgians, determined to accomplish this goal, we should strive constantly for new ideas, and daily we should look to new horizons for better methods to use in stimulating our economy.

Harry Truman, Mrs. Roosevelt Praised By Butler In Palo Alto Talk

(Continued from Page 1)

utterly impossible.

Democratic Party

"The leadership of the Democratic Party aroused the conscience of the American people on this issue, Democratic Administrations created the only F. E. R. C. we have ever had. They created the first commission to insure compliance with non-discrimination in government contracts. They abolished segregation in the armed forces. And they established the practice of having the Department of Justice submit briefs to the Court on behalf of civil rights.

"I urge you to make your own comparison between this record of leadership and administrative action on behalf of civil rights, and that of President Eisenhower.

"The Republican Party has not kept up the pace in civil rights set by the New Deal and the Fair Deal.

"I say to you that leadership in the field of civil rights means more than just getting your picture taken with Negro citizens or making statements for the press in the fashion of Vice President Nixon. There was no Republican leadership in civil rights in the months of delay before appointments of members and a director of the Civil Rights Commission while Republicans tried to blame the director's lack of Congressional confirmation for the failure to proceed with effective field investigation and action, before the Commission expires .

Civil Rights Group

"The months of delay in getting the Civil Rights Commission under way are not the fault of the Democratic Congress. The Administration failed to name an executive director and give him an interim appointment, and the chairman of the commission has been more interested in issuing week-end press statements explaining why no results are evident from the commission's work rather than putting the two dozen men already employed by the commission into the field to do the job that Congress established the commission to undertake.

"Leadership in civil rights cannot wait for events to overwhelm us, as happened in Little Rock, where leadership and strength earlier in the progress of the dispute would have forestalled the tragic events that later occurred.

"Leadership in civil rights would not treat those who want the law to be enforced and those who would break it with the fine impartiality the President has thus far displayed.

Leadership and Power

"Above all, real leadership that would have effective moral power would speak out in favor of the Supreme Court's 1954 school segregation decision. The President has never done so, in spite of repeated requests, and his failure to do so weakens the effectiveness of respect for the decision.

"I am afraid that the record of this Administration proves that further executive leadership and administrative action to expand the area of human rights will have to await the election of the next Democratic President in 1960.

"Despite our encumbrances—and certainly we all recognize that as a national party we do have them—we still have a better record on civil rights. We have a better record because the majority of our party has led the way in this field—and because we have had leadership in the White House to speak out firmly for human rights.

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SUPREME COURT OUGHT TO BE IMPEACHED—SEE YOUR CONGRESSMAN

Article Section

Printed in Two Sections

SCHOOL INTEGRATION — FOUR YEARS AFTER

The South vs. the High Court's 1954 Ruling

By JAMES J. KILPATRICK

IT HAS BEEN four years now, come May 17, since Chief Justice Warren gazed upon a packed courtroom and began reading the brief opinion we have come to know as *Brown vs. Board of Education*. In the whole history of the Supreme Court of the United States, no single decision has had an immediate impact more profound than this one, or created more controversy over a wider area, or fostered more bitter resentments. Those who support and defend the Court's opinion might accept those superlatives, but would contend that no decision ever has accomplished greater social good. However the School Cases are viewed, pro or con, few persons would question their surpassing place in the judicial history of the United States.

The point merits brief elaboration. Ask any freshman law student to name a dozen great landmark cases, and he probably would begin with *Marbury vs. Madison*, touch upon *United States vs. Judge Peters*, lump together *Fletcher vs. Peck* and the Dartmouth College Case, then emphasize *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, *Gibbons vs. Ogden*, and *Martin vs. Hunter's Lessee*. Your student certainly would include Dred Scott in his list, and perhaps nominate the Slaughterhouse Cases from the Reconstruction Period. The NLRB decisions of April, 1937, followed a year later by the sweeping pronouncements of *United States vs. Darby*, and still more recently by the *Tidelands* decision and the *Watkins* case — all these surely are landmarks.

Yet none of these opinions quite matches *Brown vs. Board of Education*, and the reasons why this is so go to the heart of this essay. The people — the five and a half million American human beings of 1803 — really had no great interest in Mr. Marbury's appointment as a justice of the peace; the profound implications of Marshall's assertion of judicial authority did not affect them personally. In the same way, the Supreme Court's declaration of power to invalidate state laws, as in *Cobens* and *McCulloch*, touched few persons intimately. The man in the street of 1824, reading the *Gibbons* case, had no vast concern for new doctrines of interstate commerce. Questions of state contracts, fugitive slaves, Federal taxation, even the issuance of currency

— momentous as these decisions were, they were largely impersonal in their application. Seldom did these opinions upset institutions of long standing; and in almost every case, cogent reasons of law were advanced to support them.

The school cases of May 17, 1954, fall in a class by themselves. Here the Supreme Court held that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits to the states the power of maintaining racially separate public schools; and, in a companion case, the Court held it "unthinkable" that the Constitution imposes a lesser inhibition on the Federal Government in Washington. (As Judge Ralph Catterall has remarked, what the Court held to be unthinkable, until that day had been universally thought.) The effect of the opinion was to wipe out an understanding of the Fourteenth Amendment that had prevailed for 86 years.

The ruling struck down the school segregation laws of 17 states and the District of Columbia; it immediately, personally and directly affected the lives of millions of school children and their parents. And the Court accomplished all this not on the basis of law, but upon "the extent of psychological knowledge." Members of the Court, agreeing to the Brown opinion, jettisoned some of the oldest rules of judicial construction; they usurped the power reserved to the states to amend the Constitution, and they substituted their own notions of desirable public policy for the plain meaning of the Constitution they were sworn to uphold.

SO VIOLENT an explosion must cause vast changes. It is entirely too soon to appraise these consequences fully; and those of us in the Old South, attempting to cope with what is seen as the devastation of a social order, are doubtless the wrong ones to attempt an appraisal anyhow. For the South, these four years have been like the day after an earthquake: the ground still trembles, and the damage may be more or less severe than it seems. Looking back, one senses a blur of names and faces: Aurtherine Lucy, Martin Luther King, the bear-like bulk of Thurgood Marshall; Orval Faubus, and Judge Davies, and the Clinton Eleven. One remembers, too, the torrent of

words that has flowed from the South's problems — pamphlets, books, interviews, speeches, 150 major laws and resolutions adopted in Southern legislatures. The file of magazine articles alone is overwhelming. We have wondered wearily when, if ever, our adversaries would stumble upon something else to write about; but the subject is so complex, and its implications so grave, that the flood of comment rolls on.

Let me suggest eight areas of impact that might be considered. I put them down in no special order: (1) the schools themselves; (2) the future of education and other public institutions in the South; (3) white and Negro relations; (4) population patterns; (5) public opinion; (6) politics; (7) international relations; and (8) law.

The 17 states and the District of Columbia affected by the School Cases have a public school enrollment of some 9,431,000 white pupils and 2,922,000 Negro pupils. Their school systems are subdivided into school districts, of which 3,000 districts are biracial. The fourth anniversary of the opinion finds approximately 760 of these districts "integrated," and 2,240 not integrated. I put the word "integrated" in quotation marks to suggest that, in some of these districts, integration has been accomplished in the barest token degree: one Negro pupil among 6,800 in Winston-Salem, N. C., four among 7,700 in Charlotte.

The statistics on this whole subject are deceptive, and need to be examined with care. When it is said that two million white children and 350,000 Negro children are now in "integrated situations," it should also be said that except for nine districts in Arkansas, three in North Carolina and three in Tennessee, all these integrated situations are in border states and in the District of Columbia. Four years after the decision, not a single public school is racially integrated in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi or Louisiana.

WHAT CARRIES perhaps the greatest significance is the fact that the trend toward voluntary integration has all but stopped. Of the 760 school districts now classified as integrated, 537 were integrated by the fall of 1955, and 723 were integrated by the fall of 1956. The movement now has stalled. Except for a few mop-up districts in fringe areas, the advance of integration will move henceforth an inch at a time. Court orders, directed at resentful defend-

ants and backed by Federal force, will be required, and these will have to be carried out in an atmosphere not of acceptance but of active or passive hostility. There is a maxim that no law can be effective when it is imposed upon a community against its will; and when such imposition is attempted, it is not called law; it is called tyranny. It is in this light that the Court's decrees are viewed over most of the remaining unintegrated districts.

How well has integration succeeded in the 760 districts where it now obtains? In some areas, surely, it appears to have worked quite well indeed. For the most part, these are border areas in which the Negro school population is relatively small, or they are areas having relatively little identification with a peculiarly Southern way of life. In other areas, such as Washington, D. C., it is difficult to weigh the picture because the picture changes so rapidly; the District's schools are now more than 71 per cent colored, and in lower elementary grades the figure approaches 80 per cent. Many of the District's schools, for reasons of residential geography, thus are virtually segregated all over again.

Elsewhere, in some of the more critical areas, the Court's social experiment is not going too well. Correspondents of the Southern School News, interviewing white parents and teachers in integrated localities in Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina, found opinion still resentful, still unchanged. Even the minute degree of race-mixing that now obtains in these areas has been accepted with reluctance and with a helpless sense of resignation to a distasteful inevitability.

It will be recalled that two of the school districts that figured in the original School Cases were Clarendon County, S. C., and Prince Edward County, Va.—Notably, both districts remain fully segregated to this day, and for the same reason: if Negro plaintiffs wish to push their victory at court to a showdown at the schoolhouse, all public schools in the two localities will be abandoned. In each case, plans are far advanced for the establishment of private schools for white children. What would become of the Negro children is uncertain. The implications of so drastic a decision can merely be acknowledged here; it must suffice to say that the prospect of closing deeply cherished schools is a miserably unhappy one all around, and represents to the white parents and taxpayers only a final desperate choice between evils.

This willingness to abandon a public facility, as a last resort, in preference to seeing it integrated, is re-

flected elsewhere in the South today. I am advised that few municipal swimming pools, if any, have been constructed in the unyielding South in the past four years. No new municipal golf courses have been opened in these states, and several municipal courses, indeed, have been abandoned and sold. Greensboro, N. C., is the most recent city to take this step, and the decision is all the more notable in Greensboro because of the generally "liberal" political climate that obtains there. To replace such public facilities, private recreational clubs are multiplying across the South at a phenomenal pace. Instead of calling upon government for a swimming pool and a tennis court, these groups are providing their own, at their own expense. Wholly apart from the integration issue, this is a marvelously healthy trend.

What is not healthy at all, and is to be most keenly regretted, is the palpable decline in white and Negro relationships across much of the South. This decline is not to be charted in anything so measurable as interracial violence. We have experienced, thankfully, very little of this so far. Indeed, I would imagine there are more incidents of interracial violence on any Saturday night in Brooklyn than the whole of Virginia would experience in a year. We are too far apart down here for that. And this apartness is growing. The Brown decision served to snap old lines of communication; it swept away the social foundation on which white and Negro could dwell tolerably together.

PRIOR TO May 17, 1954, the Negro's status in the South was that of a subordinate. Now, it may have been wrong for the white Southerner to have thought of the Negro in such terms — probably it was; you grow up with such things — but at least a subordinate relationship is a familiar and normal relationship, known to every man who has a boss over him. There are ground rules in such a relationship; men know where they stand. In the South, that status has abruptly shifted; the Negro is seen now as plaintiff in a lawsuit, as party litigant, an antagonist. Where once we had thought of our society as Negro and white, now the judicial earthquake has tumbled up a new relationship of Negro versus white, as if we met in pleadings only. In individual cases, of course, a warm affection still binds countless whites and countless Negroes, but class-wise, or group-wise, the dividing gulf grows wider.

The impact of *Brown vs. Board of Education* has not been felt in the South alone. Beyond question,

the School Cases have contributed greatly to an acceleration of population movements. Here, again, many of the statistics are uncertain and deceptive, but it seems evident that thousands of Southern Negroes, motivated in part by an impression of their changed status, or by an awareness of mounting tensions, are moving from the rural South. For many of them, it has been a bitterly disillusioning experience, and some of them, weighing the open segregation of the South against the mean hypocrisy of the North, have come home again. They are few. If the massive migration has slowed, it remains impressive; and in such cities as Washington and St. Louis, white residents are fleeing before the tidal wave. In the past seven years, Chicago's Negro population has leaped from 277,000 to 740,000, St. Louis's from 108,000 to 235,000, and Washington's from 187,000 to upwards of 375,000. The census of 1940 found only 20,394 Negroes in Gary, Ind. Now there are 61,000.

Where public opinion stands on all this, I cannot say. Professional polls seldom ask the right questions. But I hope not to exhibit too much bias, hated word, by venturing the thought that the South's position is gaining sympathetic support on two fronts. It seems to me we are hearing far more informed criticism of the Court's ruling, as a legal opinion, than we were hearing two or three years ago; when so eminent a jurist as Learned Hand suggests, in the most thinly veiled terms, that the Court acted as a super-legislature in the Brown case, mere laymen in the South are bound to experience gratification.

Secondly, it seems to me that as Northern cities experience at first hand the social meaning of large Negro populations, more persons will come to understand something of the white Southerner's objection to placing his 14-year-old daughter in an integrated high school. What may come of this trend in opinion, if it is a trend, I have no way of predicting.

The confusion of sentiments and population changes most surely will be reflected, however, in the face of partisan politics. Whenever the Southerner hoists a tentative hand these days, feeling for rafters above him, he discovers he has no political roof over his head. That, too, has been blown away. Senators Paul Douglas and Hubert Humphrey, among others, are vocally willing to read the South out of the Democratic party. Mr. Eisenhower effectively read the South out of the Republican party at Little Rock. There is not a prospective candidate of any stature in either party for whom the South willingly or happily would cast its ballot now.

Senator Kennedy might be the most acceptable Democrat with a prayer of winning his party's nomination, but the prospect is that even Mr. Kennedy would be bound to a platform, and committed to a campaign, that would be anathema to the South.

The realities of partisan politics are such that with only two well-organized parties in the field, key Negro blocs in key states must be ardently courted. The South will have to be damned — regretfully damned, perhaps, but nonetheless consigned to outer darkness. Under these melancholy circumstances, the opportunity would seem to be at hand for Southerners to take the lead in forming a new conservative party. For a number of reasons, too complex to go into here, little is likely to materialize in this direction. The spark hasn't been struck.

The seventh area of impact in my notes is headed "international relations." The alleged consequences here rest largely upon hearsay evidence, or at least upon evidence I find it difficult to appraise. We of the South are constantly told what singular damage is done abroad by our dreadful customs; we are advised that *Brown vs. Board of Education* could have been justified, apart from law or sociology, in terms of diplomatic advantage. If the people of Little Rock were appalled by Mr. Eisenhower's army last fall, it is said the people of New Delhi were even more greatly aggrieved.

ALL THIS SEEMS to me unlikely, or at least irrelevant. Perhaps the people of India, or of Burma or Ceylon, are so ignorant, or so gullible, that the South's practice of school segregation is seen as an oppressive act far worse than anything which exists in Soviet Russia — or, for that matter, in their own caste-conscious backyards. Perhaps. But if these people are so blind to truth that they cannot distinguish between the land of the free in the South and the home of the slave in Siberia, nothing can be expected to open their eyes. More than this: the Southerner scarcely can be criticized very harshly if he places the conceived welfare of his own child above the supposed good opinion of Mr. Nehru. And most of all: it is a fair argument that it is infinitely more important to preserve the Constitution at home than to woo some doubtful friends abroad.

That leads me finally to the impact that seems greatest of all: what is happening to law. In retrospect, it may be seen that *Brown vs. Board of Education* set off a wave of judicial tremors unmatched in the Court's history. It was the first in a series of opinions that have placed the established rights of society, and the police powers of the state, at the mercy of the supposed rights of the individual. After *Brown*, the deluge: *Nelson*, *Watkins*, *Sweazey*, *Schwartz*, *Konigsberg*, *Mallory*, *Yates*, *Slochower* —

ARTICLE 4

the hooves of a roughshod Court have trampled over a dozen areas of law that once were thought inviolate. In this process, the reserved powers of the states have gone glimmering, and an attempt has been made to reduce Congress to a sputtering impotence. The Negro, the rapist, the Communist — these are the High Court's darlings now; and the white man, the law officer, the foe of subversion lie equally victims of the Court's encroachments.

These have not been happy years for the South — not for the white Southerner, and I suspect, not for his black brother either. But we survive. Both races in the South fortunately are characterized by a vast and almost boundless patience; we share a certain genius for procrastination, and facing what often seems to be a crisis, we sometimes are able to resolve the urgency by what John Randolph called a policy of judicious neglect. It may be, in time, that a new relationship of agreeable stalemate will provide us an acceptable *modus vivendi*. Each race needs the other, at least in terms of the Southern economy, and one day the process of gradual adjustment halted by the Court will have to be resumed.

But on this particular issue of public schools, the white South has not the slightest intention of yielding; and the Negro leadership seems determined to press its legal advantage at any consequence. Both sides, looking to the autumn, are a little apprehensive. We do not know what will happen, but we do know this: over the past four years, the apostles of integration have won the easy ground; and now, for good or ill, the easy ground is about used up.

James J. Kilpatrick, author of *The Sovereign States* (Regnery), is Editor of *The Richmond News Leader*. His most recent contribution to HUMAN EVENTS was "Mr. Byrd of Virginia," August 10, 1957.

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Fellow Americans, study carefully these facts before you judge the white South. The problem is simple arithmetic.

Nine men of the Supreme Court, influenced by various forces, some well intentioned and some sinister, have told us that we must abolish segregation, thus changing our way of life.

For nearly two hundred years we have lived in peace with our black brethren. True, many of our negroes have poor living standards, but so do many of our white people.

The 1950 census will show that 70% of our Country's negroes prefer to live in the South for various reasons. This fact alone should prove that their segregated treatment down here is not too harsh. There is no restriction on migration to the North.

~~It is noteworthy that practically all of the agitation for integration in the South comes from the representatives of states which have no negro problems, or from states which have a limited negro population due to residential segregation, but have a powerful negro bloc vote.~~

Note particularly the population of the states represented by the great integrators and civil righters, Hubert Humphries of Minnesota and Wayne Morse of Oregon. It is plain that these representatives have been pressured and propogandized into advocating integration "for the other fellow."

It would be a very fine thing if those who share their "solution" with the South would offer to share our "problem."

LET THE STATE GOVERNMENTS OF THOSE STATES WHOSE REPRESENTATIVES AND PRESS ADVOCATE INTEGRATION FOR THE SOUTH MAKE AVAILABLE ACCOMMODATIONS FOR THE NUMBER OF NEGRO CITIZENS NECESSARY TO BRING THEIR NEGRO POPULATION UP TO THE NATIONAL AVERAGE OF 10%. THIS INCLUDES HOUSING AND JOBS, AS WELL AS SCHOOL AND CHURCH FACILITIES.

We will give their message wide publicity throughout the South, so that our segregated negroes can migrate to those states.

No fairminded, sincere American could object to this plan. Even the NAACP, the ADA and both political parties could throw their tremendous weight towards the solution to this National problem.

This plan is logical, practical, human, democratic and sound. It would be a simple matter to set up the proper agencies to facilitate this migration to the North.

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CASE FOR THE SOUTH EXHIBIT A

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BASED ON 1950 CENSUS

STATES	TOTAL POPULATION	WHITE	NEGRO	PERCENT NEGRO	NEGRO POPULATION (in excess of Nat'l average of 10%)
***Mississippi	2,178,914	1,188,632	986,494	.4528	768,603
***South Carolina	2,117,027	1,293,405	822,077	.3883	610,375
***Dist. of Columbia	802,178	517,865	280,803	.3500	200,586
***Louisiana	2,683,516	1,796,683	882,428	.3288	614,077
***Alabama	3,061,743	2,079,591	979,617	.3200	673,443
***Georgia	3,444,578	2,380,577	1,062,762	.3085	718,305
***North Carolina	4,061,929	2,983,121	1,047,353	.2578	641,161
***Arkansas	1,909,511	1,481,507	426,639	.2234	235,688
***Virginia	3,318,680	2,581,555	734,211	.2212	402,343
***Florida	2,771,305	2,116,051	603,101	.2176	325,971
***Maryland	2,343,001	1,954,975	385,972	.1647	151,672
***Tennessee	3,291,718	2,760,257	530,603	.1612	204,125
***Delaware	318,085	273,878	43,598	.1370	11,790
***Texas	7,711,194	6,726,534	977,458	.1267	206,339
					NEGRO POPULATION (needed to equal Nat'l average of 10%)
***Missouri	3,954,653	3,655,593	297,088	.0751	98,377
**Illinois	8,712,176	8,046,058	645,980	.0730	225,237
**Michigan	6,371,766	5,917,825	442,296	.0694	194,880
***Kentucky	2,944,806	2,742,090	201,921	.0686	92,559
**New Jersey	3,835,329	4,511,585	318,565	.0659	64,964
***Oklahoma	2,233,351	2,032,526	145,503	.0651	77,832
**Ohio	7,946,627	7,428,222	513,072	.0645	281,590
**New York	14,830,192	13,872,095	918,191	.0619	564,828
**Pennsylvania	10,498,012	9,853,848	638,485	.0608	411,316
***West Virginia	2,005,552	1,890,282	114,867	.0570	85,688
*Indiana	3,934,224	3,758,512	174,168	.0443	219,254
*California	10,586,223	9,915,173	462,172	.0437	596,450
*Kansas	1,905,299	1,828,961	73,158	.0383	117,371
*Arizona	749,587	654,511	25,974	.0346	48,984
*Connecticut	2,007,280	1,952,329	53,472	.0266	147,256
*Nevada	160,083	149,908	4,302	.0251	11,706
*Rhode Island	791,896	777,015	13,903	.0176	65,286
*Massachusetts	4,690,514	4,611,097	73,577	.0157	395,474
*Colorado	1,325,089	1,296,653	20,177	.0153	112,331
*Nebraska	1,325,510	1,301,328	19,234	.0145	113,317
*Washington	2,378,963	2,316,496	30,691	.0129	207,205
*New Mexico	681,187	630,211	8,408	.0123	59,709
*Wyoming	290,529	284,009	2,557	.0088	26,495
*Wisconsin	3,434,575	3,392,690	28,182	.0082	315,275
*Oregon	1,521,341	1,497,128	11,529	.0076	140,605
*Iowa	2,621,073	2,599,546	19,692	.0075	242,415
*Minnesota	2,982,483	2,953,697	14,022	.0047	284,226
*Utah	688,862	676,909	2,729	.0039	66,157
*Montana	591,024	572,038	1,232	.0020	57,870
*Idaho	588,637	581,395	1,050	.0017	57,813
*Maine	913,774	910,846	1,221	.0013	90,156
*New Hampshire	533,242	532,275	731	.0013	52,593
*Vermont	377,747	377,188	443	.0012	37,331
*South Dakota	652,740	628,504	727	.0011	64,547
*North Dakota	619,636	608,448	257	.0004	61,706
UNITED STATES	150,697,361	134,941,622	15,042,692	.0998	

***States requiring segregation by custom and law.

**States which segregate by confining negro population to districts by use of various types of discrimination. The negro block vote states.

*States which have few negroes and few race problems.

(OVER)

The South Is Different

The South is diverse, yet thanks to the Supreme Court it is once more the "Solid South." It is changing, yet its traditions will save it from the drab conformity dictated by Madison Avenue

ANTHONY HARRIGAN

The South is different. That is why it is so fascinating to people who live in other regions of America.

Visitors to the South are, depending on their point of view, amazed, amused, entranced or enraged by the South's differences. But for every author of a condemnatory article, the South has a thousand friends who are just crazy about Dixie.

Every spring, when the first wisteria begins to spill over old brick walls, the South's friends cross the Potomac. They come to view the South's camellias and azaleas, walk through the Southern pineywoods, ride on flatboats through the South's swamps, tour Southern "shrines" and historic houses, drive along moss-hung Southern roads, peep into Southern gardens, eat Southern hominy and grits, shrimp and shad and oysters, rice and gravy, crabs and baked breads. These friends enjoy and admire Southern houses, highways, flowers, smiles and victuals. If they dislike Southern politics, they clearly do not deem politics the most important thing in life.

Yes, they are all crazy about the South—the rich New Yorkers, the honeymooners from Illinois and the elderly couples from Massachusetts. There is no evidence that they believe the literary and political legend of the South as a land of morons, lynchers, rapists, nightriders and servant-whippers.

Southerners know that people read in the newsmagazines and the paperback books that they are psychologically stunted and spiritually impoverished. But they don't get too excited. They know that millions of Northern tourists see the falsity of the myth and the scare articles when they travel south in the springtime.

The rich, differentiating vitality of the South cannot be enclosed in a

single definition. Therein lies much of the trouble the South has in getting itself across to the rest of the nation. It is also why the best way to counter the effect of the headlines is to invite a Northern friend to visit, go to church with the family, drink whisky on the piazza, talk to the Negroes who drive the tractors across the big fields, and fish in the surf off the magnificent beaches along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. That is the best of all possible ways to make a Northerner understand that the South isn't a chapter from a novel by Erskine Caldwell.

Essential Conservatism

The South today is as much a land of Cadillacs, waterskiiers, air-conditioning and split-level houses as it is a land of cotton and tobacco, sawmills, bourbon and drawling voices. But the South is still very different, and the gap isn't closing between the sections. It has, to be sure, changed in the last twenty years. For that matter, the South of 1938 was very different from the South of 1918. There's always been change, and more rapid change than you think. Yet the essential Southernness has remained.

The South has a sort of built-in power brake, which is a most effective piece of historical equipment. It has an essential conservatism, which has kept it from skidding into some very unhappy patterns, enthusiasms and crazes. The prosperity-worship of the nineteen-twenties that made many sections of the country abandon old standards of decent behavior came too late for most of the South. By the time many Southerners realized that a "brave new world" was aborning, the crash came and destroyed the modernist, materialist shibboleths. And when the depression set in and gave the country a severe shock, the

South didn't find the shock so terrific. After all, poverty had been a continuing condition south of the Mason-Dixon line for decades. Many Northern youths were so shocked that they turned to radical political movements; Southerners of the rising generation had had the experience of troubled times that enabled them to understand events and take them in stride. And so it was that the South, unlike the North, produced no crop of radicals in those bitter years.

Josephine Pinckney, the Southern novelist, wrote about the generation of Southerners that matured in the late nineteen-twenties and early thirties. Her words still apply:

They share with the rest of American youth the advantages of the new education, freedom of movement, and frankness of speech, and it is certain that a fairly large number has managed to preserve a good taste, a feeling for courtesy that checks extravagance along these lines. The thoughtful ones see which way they are headed and are prepared to stem the flood.

Since World War II, the South has gained new economic security. But it has done so without notable sacrifice of its traditions of independence and humane living, personalness and non-conformism. Factories have been mechanized but not the people.

Of course, the tempo of Southern life has speeded up in the nineteen-forties and fifties. Southerners who have matured in the last fifteen years have behind them the same national experiences of war and boom that Americans in other regions also share. But the North has changed too. If the South has become a little less personal, the North has become vastly more impersonal. If the South now includes suburbia, the North includes a rapidly-expanding subtopia.

Note, for example, that for the first time in decades the North is not a Land of Promise to the able, educated young Southerner. The Southerners who are heading North are the Negroes from abandoned cotton lands and the hillbillies from remote back-country areas. The South today is losing its worst citizens to the North, not its best.

The Southern experience, in short, has to be related to the experience of life in the North. Southern cities are not enjoying fantastic growth. But Northern cities, as they grow, are filling up with migrants who bring major social headaches and economic costs, and the solvent middle class is fleeing the Northern cities for the suburbs and beyond.

So it is that Southerners today are trying to persuade Northern friends to move South—and the South is, indeed, gaining many first-class citizens from the North, along with a lot of first-class industry. If the South has its quota of racial troubles, the North has more than its quota of labor troubles. If Northern editors were as frank as Horace Greeley was in the nineteenth century, they might say editorially: "Go South, young man."

States of Mind

The South, as every traveler knows, is not one place, one monolithic society. There are many Souths.

There are as many other Souths as there are Southern states. And there are Souths that cross state lines, regions that unite coastal belts and piedmont areas. Indeed the South is more than a place or places; it is a state of mind, many states of mind.

Today, however, there is a new South—the hardcore South solidified in the last four years as the result of political pressures. If economic changes were splintering the South in the nineteen-forties and early nineteen-fifties, the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court welded the South into new unity.

Resentment at the application of judicial, legislative and journalistic pressure has caused a hardening of Southern opinion in the last four years. There has been a truly astonishing revival of pamphleteering. There has been close cooperation between state governors and attorneys general. There have been frequent

meetings of southwide resistance groups. Talk at the dinner table in country clubs, at cocktail parties, in barber shops is today talk of what is happening in Montgomery, Nashville, Little Rock, Charleston and Tallahassee. There is psychological unity, if not political unity. For widespread awareness of being under pressure to change a way of life has forged new ties between very different parts of the South.

It is difficult to realize that there is a new pattern of Southern thinking. One asks oneself: What way of life has the tobacco grower in Southside, Virginia, in common with a missile worker at the Redstone Arsenal in Huntsville, Alabama? How does the shrimp-boat captain on the Carolina coast feel related to the cotton farmer in the Mississippi Delta?

Actually, their common experience is an experience of being attacked, pushed around, scorned, ridiculed—in the newsreels, the television "studies" of Southern race situations, the newspapers and magazines. Southerners in many walks of life and many different locales realize that they are painted as devils and considered a collective blot on the life of the nation. They know what they and their families and friends are like, and they don't accept the press and television portraits as factual. They are profoundly resentful at the characterization of themselves in the pages of such publications as *Time* and *Life*.

Southerners aren't eager to be sundered from the life of the nation. They don't have a chip on their shoulders, waiting for a Northerner to push it off. On the contrary: they are well aware that there are millions of Americans who share their attitudes and a common heritage. But press lords have insisted on characterizing Southerners as brutes and bigots, and have thereby increased regional consciousness.

The pressure applied against the South is not causing the South to surrender its culture and approach to life. Because the Southerner of today wants new factories on the bayous and in the magnolia groves, enjoys air-conditioning in his office, flies to New York once a week on business and enjoys a martini as well as any Manhattanite, one must not conclude that he is prepared to surrender his traditions and his way of life.

With the coming of economic progress, Southerners have done a lot of soul-searching and self-examination. The pressure campaigns of the last four years have resulted in even more thoughtful study. Looking back at their land and its traditions, Southerners have come to realize that the mind of the South took its shape in an age of realism in men and affairs, back in the eighteenth century. The original shapers of the Southern tradition believed that progress resulted not from equality of condition, but from fruitful inequalities.

The North: Talk vs. Actions

The South has always been frank about its position on the question of equality. And, in the North, many persons over many generations have shared the view of Southern thinkers. But for generations Northerners who hold profoundly conservative views of society have cloaked their views.

Educated Southerners have long recognized the discrepancies between the North's public statements and its private principles. The bitter experience of Reconstruction and the lasting economic occupation of the South, which extends down to our present day, combined to teach several generations of Southerners that the North's high-flown talk and its real actions are worlds apart.

The educated Southerner knows, to be sure, that money power is not employed against him so blatantly these days. Domination of the South, the cutting back of its political influence in the nation, is achieved nowadays by means more appropriate to the sophisticated mid-twentieth century. Southerners see applied to themselves the hidden persuaders of politics and mass movements. They recognize that attempts are being made not simply to sell integration to them but to sell them fear of losing new industry. But great social changes affecting a region with strong traditions cannot be achieved by the manipulative techniques of advertising. Elements in the North are trying hard to achieve great social changes in this way, of course. But those elements that have sought to merchandize candidates and policies like a breakfast cereal are meeting great resistance and disbelief.

Educated Southerners profoundly

resent the application of human engineering and engineering of consent techniques to their way of life. They consider it the least candid and honest development in the long history of American political life. They are among the least "other-directed" citizens in this Republic, to employ the modern term that describes Americans whose character and behavior are shaped by the pressures applied to them. There is simply too much of the hard substance of the South's experience working on the lives of Southerners. Change has come slowly. It has not been a shattering experience. There are no large groups of persons whose parents or grandparents knew fear and oppression in the slums and peasant villages of Europe. Rather, historic memories of Southerners are of freedom under Southern skies, of battling for what one believes is right, and of resisting outsiders and outside influence.

There are literally millions of conservatives in the South, millions of opponents of rapid change. Even today in the midst of the rush for industry, many citizens in all walks of life are saying, "Go slow." Southerners don't want to be swept away by too rapid industrialization or by any sort of economic or social change that is too swift. There are plenty of people around to drag their feet or hold their shoulders against the door. There are three hundred years of history behind the South, history with a special bent. It is highly unlikely that this will be written off overnight. And Southerners ask: Why should the South be recast in the image of New York?

Southerners are not given to ideologies or to theorizing. But they know they want to remain somewhat different. They know they want for themselves and their posterity things that the North doesn't offer, that the radicals in the North would squeeze out of Southern life if their influence became predominant. Southerners want leisure—time off to go hunting in the fall and fishing when the bass are biting; more important things, like a sense of belonging to a place where one's father and his father before him lived and died and where status is not the result of a bankroll or living in the "right" development.

Educated Southerners know that these are the conditions for the slow maturing of a good life and the per-

fection of individual ways—of civilization, in short. Southerners may regret that their region doesn't have better symphony orchestras and more adequate art museums. But they know that these are secondary considerations. People in flourishing Northern cities, where there is no real community closeness and few shared ideals, have the apparatus of "culture." But Southerners also know that culture, as one Englishman recently expressed it, may be "a cosmopolitan system of fashions not altogether different from the conspiracy which dictates the way women will dress all over the world from its cells in Paris and New York." Such a "culture" may admire art but be utterly contemptuous of the slow movement of life that makes civilization possible.

"Wave of the Future"

Some writers and historians, including some in the South, say that the wave of history is against the South. They say that determinism shows that the Southern pattern of life is destined to break up. They say the South has five, ten, perhaps fifteen years at the most, at the end of which it will be exactly like every other part of the United States. They imply that the South, when that day comes, will be bland, homogenized, with all but the officially approved prejudices removed, eating what the food institutes say to eat, making love the way the sex institutes and marital counselors say is best, jumping when the doctors say jump, buying candidates "sold" by the word manipulators on Madison Avenue, organized

Uneasy Lies . . .

Not quite two hundred years ago
Our grandsires dealt a mortal blow
To George the Third's regality.

Yet now our ad-men's emphasis
In on the "Royal" theme, in this
Great realm of firm equality.

All adjectives once used for kings
Now qualify all sorts of things
To wear, to drink, to ride, to smoke,
And make each democratic bloke
Puff out his chest, adjust his crown,
And pay the tab with kingly frown.

MARTA K. THATCHER

by Big Labor and dependent for jobs on Big Business.

This writer and millions of Southerners disagree with this forecast. The Southern view is that men and women and Providence, not impersonal economic forces and world political movements—make history. Brave men, determined men, men who remember what their fathers lived and died for, make history. No one is compelled to follow the advice of political and cultural hucksters. And by no means does history demonstrate that economics is the decisive force in society (only the Marxist believes that as an article of faith). Ideas of true community, of family love and loyalty, of individuality within a tradition—all continue and have meaning where men persist in them. And supposing the South's traditions do not survive the assault of other ideas? Is the possibility of that sufficient cause for Southerners to goosestep with the rest of the nation, accept conformity and uniformity, reject the nonconformism which is independence? Of course not, for as Calhoun, the greatest of Southern thinkers, said long ago, the victory is in the struggle.

In other times other people have lost fights that they believed to be right, succumbed to what they considered barbarism. But the threat of defeat did not deter them from doing what they believed to be right and necessary.

Some Southerners, of course, will not struggle for their conception of the good life. Others, make no mistake about it, will. There will be plenty of brands saved from the burning. After all, what is the goal of the American Republic? Not, certainly, that citizens should march in unison like so many robots or like sheep behind a leader or, again, like soldiers in a platoon, silent and obedient to orders. The traditions of the Republic and human experience itself point to the importance of variety in speech, character, thought, hopes and aspirations. And so no Southerner need be deterred from his course when he hears talk of a "wave of the future." That wave exists only in imagination.

(Reprints of this article are available at 15 cents each, 100 for \$10.00. Address Department R, NATIONAL REVIEW, 211 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.)

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211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

JET JULY 24, 1958

THE DISEASE THAT STOPS NEGROES FROM FLYING

SICKLE CELL TRAIT CAUSES

As the first Negro enrolled at Trans World Airlines' stewardess school in Kansas City last month, petite New Yorker Margaret Grant was not too different from her four white roommates. Like them, the 21-year-old Hunter College graduate had mentally cataloged TWA's nine different airplane types, memorized code names of cities along its air routes, became familiar with galley operations aloft. Despite her studiousness, however, Margaret did not graduate with her class last week. She was dropped on the ninth day of training when doctors discovered she had inherited a blood disorder which made flying dangerous to her health. The disorder: sickle cell trait.

Margaret, one of an estimated 1,520,000 U. S. Negroes (eight per cent) who are poor flying risks because of the abnormal trait discovered in 1910, had always been healthy although "slightly on the thin side." And while she will probably never suffer from her blood disorder, it has made her especially selective about a future husband. If his body also harbors hemoglobin S, the



Miss Grant was congratulated by N. Y. Gov. Harriman before training stint.

gene for sickle cell trait, then 25 per cent of their children may be born with a more serious blood malady dubbed sickle cell anemia. Their bodies, like those of about 80,000 other Negroes, will be highly

INTERNAL DISORDERS IN FLIGHT

receptive to jaundice, pneumonia and tuberculosis, may suffer from leg ulcers, bone joint and muscle pains. They may even die before they reach age 30. For death is the only known "cure" for sickle cell anemia. Said Margaret, grimly aware that her husband-to-be will have to be almost blood-pure: "He'll have to take a sickle cell test."



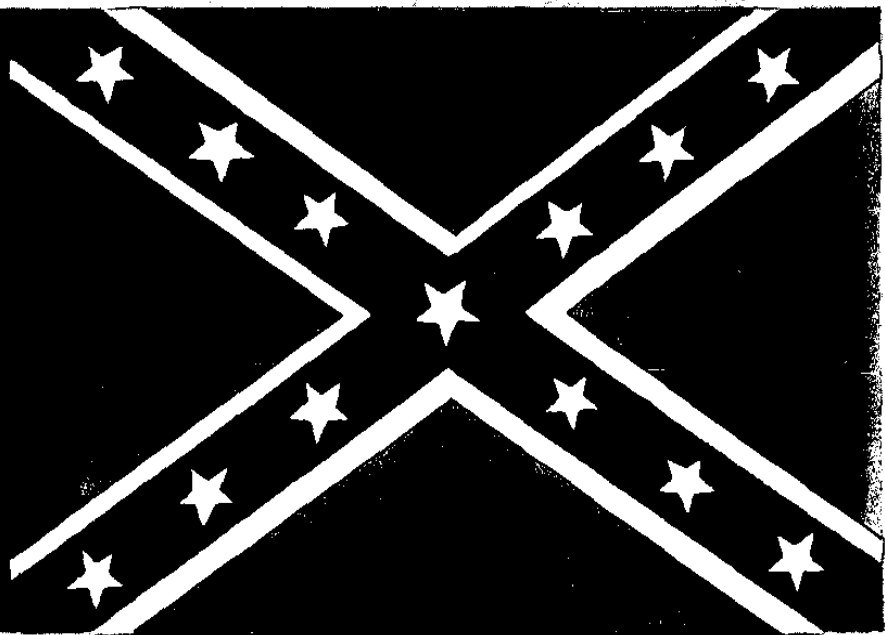
Electron microscope shows cell (l.) with sickling gene; forms weird shape (r.).

How can an unsuspecting person know he has sickle cell trait? The answer: through tests. These tests have been routinely administered for 12 years at Chicago's Michael Reese Hospital.

"You can't tell people not to have children," says famed hematologist Dr. Aaron Josephson. "But we feel we should warn couples with sickle cell trait of possible dangers to their children."

Hospital researchers siphon a drop of blood from patients, slide it under a microscope, look for red blood cells that normally resemble a batch of poker chips. After they add a special chemical, however, odds are 25-2 the cells will change into bizarre, elongated, crescent shapes indicating the presence of hemoglobin S. In high altitude flying a lack of oxygen in the bloodstream triggers the same sickling reaction, "piles up" misshapen sickle cells in the small capillaries of such organs as the spleen and liver, causes them to swell and become irritated.

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CRIME REPORT REVEALS MENACE OF INTEGRATION

The following figures on negro crime were taken from "Uniform Crime Reports for the United States," issued by the FBI, Dept. of Justice, Vol. XXV, No. 2, Annual report for 1954. It is published by the Government Printing Office and reports arrests in 1,389 cities with a total population of 38,642,183 during the year 1954.

- 70% arrested for gambling were negroes.
- 63% arrested for murder were negroes.
- 63% arrested for dope violations were negroes.
- 63% arrested for aggravated assaults were negroes.
- 62% arrested for prostitution were negroes.
- 55% arrested for possession of deadly weapons were negroes.
- 53% arrested for robbery were negroes.
- 43% arrested for all other assaults were negroes.
- 41% arrested for liquor violations were negroes.
- 40% arrested for rape were negroes.
- 35% arrested for receiving stolen property were negroes.
- 33% arrested for burglaries, breaking and entering were negroes.
- 33% arrested for disorderly conduct were negroes.
- 31% arrested for larceny were negroes.
- 29% arrested for suspicion were negroes.
- 28% arrested for offenses against children and family were negroes.
- 22% arrested for all other sex offenses were negroes.
- 22% arrested for embezzlement and fraud were negroes.
- 21% arrested for auto theft were negroes.
- 21% arrested for vagrancy were negroes.
- 18% arrested for drunkenness were negroes.
- 15% arrested for forgery and counterfeiting were negroes.
- 14% arrested for drunken driving were negroes.

The 1950 census reported negroes 10% of the total population, yet they commit crimes far in excess of 10%. Not one newspaper in the country has carried the above information.

MISSISSIPPI STATE STATISTICS

- 56,724 babies were born in Mississippi in 1953.
- 28,045 of that number were white.
- 28,679 were negroes.
- 7,337 were born out of wedlock, or illegitimate.
- 7,070 of the negroes were born out of wedlock.
- 267 of the whites were born out of wedlock.

One out of every 105 white births were illegitimate, or less than 1%. 24.7% of the negro births were illegitimate, which means that 247 out of every 1000 negro births were born out of wedlock. In addition, any child born to a woman who still calls herself Mrs. is considered legitimate, even though the mother states she has not seen her husband in 10 years. This is proof of the well-known fact that our negroes as a race make a mockery of the white man's holy institution of matrimony. How would integration affect the moral standards of our white children?

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(OVER)

REPORT COMPILED BY AMERICAN STATES' RIGHTS ASSN., INC. Birmingham, Alabama

Final report on prison population in thirty-two States and the District of Columbia. Some other States reported, but without racial breakdowns. They, of course, are not included.

State	Total Population 1950	Negro Population 1950	% Negro	Total Prison Population	Total Negro Prison Population	% Prison Population Negro
Indiana.....	3,934,224	174,168	4.4	6,669	1,539	23.0
Michigan.....	6,371,766	442,296	6.9	8,742	3,153	36.1
New Jersey.....	4,835,329	318,565	6.6	6,477	2,631	40.6
New York.....	14,830,192	918,191	6.2	18,665	7,585	40.1
Ohio.....	7,946,629	513,072	6.5	9,948	3,626	36.4
Pennsylvania (Co.).....	10,498,012	638,485	6.1	4,049	1,910	44.9
Pennsylvania (St.).....	10,498,012	638,485	6.1	6,923	2,580	41.0
Rhode Island.....	791,896	13,903	1.8	442	66	14.9
Vermont.....	377,247	443	.01	278	3	1.1
Wisconsin.....	3,434,575	28,182	.08	1,909	165	8.6
California.....	10,586,223	462,172	4.4	13,395	2,555	19.0
Kansas.....	1,905,299	73,158	3.8	1,675	404	24.0
Missouri.....	3,954,653	297,088	7.5	4,275	1,347	31.5
Oklahoma.....	2,233,351	145,593	6.5	1,881	430	22.8
Colorado.....	1,325,089	20,177	1.5	1,436	115	0.8
Idaho.....	588,637	1,050	0.2	271	8	3.0
Montana.....	591,024	1,232	0.2	637	15	2.3
Nevada.....	160,083	4,302	2.7	339	30	8.8
North Dakota.....	619,636	257	—	205	1	0.5
Oregon.....	1,521,341	11,529	.08	1,285	26	2.0
South Dakota.....	652,740	727	.01	451	5	1.0
Utah.....	688,862	2,729	0.4	612	35	5.7
District of Columbia.....	802,176	280,803	35.0	4,157	2,908	70.0
Kentucky.....	2,944,806	201,921	6.9	3,385	760	24.5
Maryland.....	2,343,001	385,972	16.5	4,607	2,756	59.8
Alabama.....	3,061,742	979,617	32.0	4,440	2,846	64.1
Arkansas.....	1,909,511	426,639	22.3	1,502	692	46.1
Georgia.....	3,444,578	1,062,762	38.8	6,708	4,092	61.0
Florida.....	2,771,305	603,101	21.7	3,893	1,844	47.4
Louisiana.....	2,683,516	882,428	32.9	1,124	671	59.6
Mississippi.....	2,178,914	986,494	45.3	1,951	1,432	73.4
South Carolina.....	2,117,027	822,077	38.8	—	—	43.4
Texas.....	7,711,194	977,458	12.7	7,758	2,551	33.0
Virginia.....	3,318,680	734,211	22.1	5,720	3,260	57.0
North Carolina.....	4,061,929	1,047,353	25.8	9,455	5,218	55.2

Note particularly our national disgrace. The District of Columbia has more negro convicts than either Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Texas, Kentucky or Maryland.

Note the low incidence of law violations among negroes in the western States, with the exception of California. Also note the very small percentage of negro population in those States.

Another interesting group is Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma. The percentage of negro population is considerably higher in these States than in the western States and the incidence of law violations among negroes shows a substantial increase.

The pattern seems to be: The larger the concentration of negro population the higher the incidence of crime. This theory is further established in the northern and eastern States, where the crime rate percentages have taken another advance. In this group California fits very well also.

The exception to the pattern is in the southern States, including the District of Columbia, where we have the largest concentration of negro population. In the southern States, in spite of the greater concentration, the incidence of crime among the negroes is considerably less than in the northern and mid-western States.

Many State officials outside the southern States claim that the low socio-economic standards of living are responsible for the high incidence of crime among the negroes in their States.

This theory cannot be accepted, if the widely advertised and generally accepted reports that the southern negroes are the poorest in the country and the most exploited and abused, are to be credited.

Experienced southern officials and students, with wider experience on the subject, point to the presence of segregation as one of the principal contributions to the low incidence of crime in the southern States. These experienced southern people have long been aware of the well-known fact that the negro race in our country too often confuses "liberty with license." They are firm in the conviction that segregation serves as a restraint on the exercise of that imagined license.

We regret that we were unable to include several States whose reports did not furnish the desired information. Our sincere thanks to all States for their ready cooperation.

From several State officials we learn that such a survey has never before been available. We hope, therefore, that this contribution will prove of value to students, psychologists, sociologists, and to law enforcement agencies.



Straight Talk

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The Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Lifers:

Just because President Roosevelt vilified the Supreme Court is no excuse for the common man to. After all, by rewriting the Constitution to suit modern life you are saving the people all the time, trouble and expense of having to amend the Constitution.

The reactionaries who have to be pulled into the 20th century dragging their feet and clutching the Constitution to their breasts naturally can't understand you fellows. They're used to having judges on the Court. They don't realize that *human values* are what count today—not law—and that you justices were appointed because of your social, economic and political backgrounds and ambitions. How could you make America over, if you were tied down to the rulings of past Courts, the laws of Congress or that ancient Constitution?

You threw out the convictions of 14 California Communists . . . you ruled against firing a government worker suspected of being a security risk . . . you turned loose a dope peddler because the government agent who sold the stuff to him had to remain anonymous so he could trap other citizens . . . like good sports you decreed that FBI files must be opened to criminal or Communist when the contents of those files are being used to prosecute him . . . you ruled that past membership in the Communist party is not a bar to the practice of law . . . you released three men who harbored a convicted and fugitive Communist leader because the FBI agents raided the house without a warrant . . . you held the Justice Department can't bar Communist activity by an alien who is under a deportation order . . . you destroyed the right of states to try Communists on sedition laws, saying all sedition cases must be tried by the Federal Government only. 'Betcha you can turn Communists loose faster'n J. Edgar Hoover can lock 'em up.

Since 1932 the Court has departed from decisions previously rendered on 35 occasions, whereas there had been only 29 such reversals in the entire history of the court before 1932. So the recent law of the land is sorta like a movie actress' hair—whatever suits the mood and the occasion. The Constitution is your hula hoop to be played with according to your fancy.

Can't you make the States Righters realize that schools and things must be federalized if we are to compete with Russian schools and things? Like the Kremlin, you must make all states under your domination conform to whatever national educational and social standards in your great wisdom you deem best for the world and us. Back when states and communities were free to run the schools any way they wanted to, they had little one-room schoolhouses where the only thing red was the schoolhouse itself and where about all they had worth having was freedom—and, of course, that's out of date now.

Let's not make the same mistake on integration and civil rights that we made on Prohibition. Just because the people didn't want Prohibition and it couldn't be enforced, Congress repealed it. But everybody knows people just can't drink equally, although many do separately. Separate but equal, you've ruled, is not equality!

And all men are created equal as anybody who'll just look around him can plainly see. We must force togetherness in churches, parks, theatres, swimming pools, subdivisions, dancing classes, farm organizations, editorial staffs, boards of directors, garden clubs, fraternities, society pages, living rooms and boudoirs. Twenty-four states have laws against intermarriage of whites and Negroes. Why don't you make that against the law of the land?

This head-on battle for power between the federal and state governments goes back to Noah. He had to bring into the ark "of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort. . ." If he had just forced integration on the boat, we wouldn't have all this trouble now. Just think of the possibilities: A woodpecker housed with a carrier pigeon might have produced a pigeonpecker that not only would deliver a message across a continent but would knock on the door when it got there.

The racists should take a more tolerant view of racial amalgamation (they call it mongrelization). When we're like Brazil, Cuba and Puerto Rico everybody will be the same color. For amusement, we can have white-face musicals and books like "Old Beige Joe" and "Grey Beauty." There won't be anymore Sammy Davis, Juniors on TV, 'cause there won't be anymore Sammy Davis, Juniors. Ain't that fabulous?

Isn't it unfair that citizens in some areas of the nation do not have an equal opportunity to really mix with their colored brothers? Would you please pass a law requiring those little exclusive commuter towns around the big eastern cities to benefit by living with, going to school with, working with and socializing with their share of Negroes? I am sure you'll agree that it's un-modern-American to let the Negroes be discriminated against by being forced on poor whites only. The Burning Tree and Augusta National golf clubs, the DAR and the Junior League, Princeton and Groton must be Little Rocked.

Aren't you worried about the clear and present danger that the Southern die-hards might really make a go of private segregated schools? Suppose Arkansas decided to refund to each student his or her per capita share of school tax money to be used to go to the school of his *choice*—couldn't you make a law of the land against that? Some pupils would choose an integrated school, some a white, some a Catholic, some a colored . . . what a horrible un-modern-American mess, freedom of choice!

Some people who recognize that the Supreme Court—not the Constitution—is the law of the land, say that integration is inevitable, we might as well accept it. Reactionaries say a people integrated against their will is a people unintegrated still. Abraham Lincoln said "To sin by silence when they should protest, makes cowards of men." But Abe lived a long time ago, before the Supreme Court Chamber became a mixing mortar—which is a bowl in which the ingredients are broken, crushed, and ground together—with all deliberate speed.

Dan Anderson

A Negro Record Worsens

The figures that appear on this page today are not the sort of figures you are likely to find in *The New York Times* or the *Washington Post*. They are the final official statistics for 1957 on births in Virginia, compiled by the State Bureau of Vital Statistics as a documented public record. They tell their own eloquent story.

As the table at right makes clear, the problem of illegitimacy among Southern Negroes does not grow better. It grows worse. While the white illegitimacy rate has remained almost constant (this rate actually is somewhat better than it was in 1935), the Negro illegitimacy rate has continued to edge upwards.

Last year, 23 out of every 100 Negro children born in Virginia were the product of illicit sexual union. In a number of counties and cities, this percentage approached or exceeded two-fifths of all Negro births.

Since 1935, Negroes have enjoyed better schools, rising incomes, greater literacy, wider cultural opportunities, and greatly improved facilities of communication and transportation. And how has this rising standard of living been reflected? Since 1935, more than 90,000 illegitimate children have been born to Negroes in Virginia. Last year their bastardy rate was at the highest level in a quarter century.

It would be a good thing if the *Times* and the *Post* were to devote some sober, thoughtful reflection to these figures, and to the evidence they provide of Negro attitudes and white apprehensions. Out of some experience, however, we can predict the brush-off treatment these figures will receive in the integrationist press. It will be said, disdainfully, that the figures are a consequence of the "evils of a segregationist society," and that they reflect the Negroes' "low economic status." The point is worth making, without going into the anatomical details of conception, that a paycheck is scarcely among the neces-

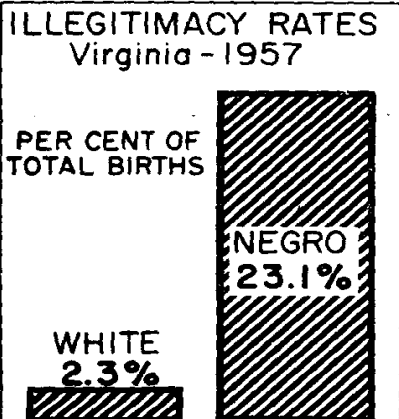
Year	Number		Per Cent	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
1935	1,046	2,760	2.8	18.4
1936	989	2,738	2.6	18.5
1937	979	2,962	2.6	19.4
1938	1,054	2,957	2.6	19.5
1939	1,001	2,904	2.5	19.2
1940	1,072	3,101	2.6	19.8
1941	1,186	3,341	2.6	20.7
1942	1,214	3,477	2.4	20.3
1943	1,126	3,293	2.1	18.8
1944	1,205	3,310	2.3	19.3
1945	1,471	3,596	2.9	21.3
1946	1,450	3,453	2.5	19.6
1947	1,568	4,027	2.4	20.0
1948	1,481	3,994	2.4	19.0
1949	1,394	4,254	2.2	19.6
1950	1,344	4,162	2.2	19.4
1951	1,437	4,621	2.2	20.5
1952	1,454	4,593	2.1	20.1
1953	1,559	4,847	2.3	20.8
1954	1,587	5,207	2.2	21.5
1955	1,582	5,296	2.3	21.7
1956	1,667	5,680	2.3	22.8
1957	1,659	5,834	2.3	23.1

sary factors in this biological process.

In our own view at least, the figures bear but one interpretation: They reflect, with appalling clarity, a predominantly racial characteristic. How else can these figures be explained, when it is recalled that thousands upon thousands of white families in the South also occupy a "low economic status"? Whites also are victims of poor housing; they too are engaged in menial labor; they too are subject to temptations of the flesh. But their passions and frustrations are not manifested in 5,800 illegitimate children in a span of 12 months.

The easy view of immorality so clearly reflected in these figures constitutes one of the chief reasons why white parents are so bitterly opposed to race-mixing in Southern schools. Parents know, in a way that childless sociologists and maiden ladies cannot possibly know, how susceptible children are to the bad, and how resistant they are to the good. Teaching a child good habits is a formidable task—brushing his teeth, tidying up his room, doing chores—but a child can pick up a bad habit in five minutes' instruction. How much more serious, then, are the predictable consequences of subjecting white children to the sort of behavioral standards that lead to a 23 per cent illegitimacy rate among Negroes?

These apprehensions are real, not imagined. They lie at the heart of Southern resistance to racial integration of the public schools. With good reason, white parents simply are unwilling to risk the tragedies that might be expected from 12 years of intimate, personal relationship among young people of two races whose moral codes are as far apart as the bars in the chart at left.



LETTERS TO THE NEWS LEADER FORUM:

Integration, Intermarriage of Races Held Contrary to Law of Nature

Editor, The News Leader:

In a letter some weeks ago to a Richmond paper, a Negro educator not only defended integration in our schools but advocated the intermarriage of whites and Negroes. His basic concept was that there are no superior and inferior races, but only superior and inferior individuals, and that the Negro race produces superior as well as inferior individuals, some of whom are clearly superior to some white individuals.

There is another way to look at this. In cows there are occasionally some outstanding grade cows which are clearly superior to some purebred cows. There are occasionally, of course, some purebred scrubs. But the purebred breeds, as compared to the grades, produce an outstandingly larger percentage of outstanding individuals. The same thing is true of people. The Anglo-Saxon race, as compared

to the Negro race, produces an outstandingly larger number of superior individuals.

A mistake commonly made today is to assume that the things which made our nation what it is, our basic laws, our customs, our mental attitudes, the enormous development of our economic resources, are just a part of the world we live in, like our mountains, our prairies, our rivers. Nothing could be more false.

Our nation may be compared to a modern building. Like the steel skeleton which carries the rest of the building, there is a frame-work of outstanding individuals which supports our economy and the political community on which the economy rests. But while it has been the privilege of men of courage and vision and sound judgment to give direction and purpose to our political community, the greatness and strength of our country rests on the ability of

our whole people to recognize and support this leadership.

Only two peoples in all history have been proficient in self-government: Romans in their early history and some of the Germanic peoples of Northwest Europe, notably the Anglo-Saxons of Great Britain and the United States. Other peoples, for the most part, have seen a sorry succession of dictatorships, with interludes of greatness under wise dictators. It is a question whether the basic stock which founded this country and wrote our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution, has not already been overloaded.

The Negro leans heavily on the white man. Nothing frightens him so thoroughly as the fear of losing this support and having to stand on his own feet. If Negroes were given a state of their own with all of the material things which go to make up an economy like

ours, how long would it be before it would collapse in a welter of misery and poverty and crime? And why? Simply because the Negro race does not produce a large enough number of superior individuals to carry the load of their race, and has not shown the willingness and ability to recognize and support such individuals.

Three qualities make a people great: Judgment, character and courage. We may define judgment as the ability correctly to apply abstract principles to concrete situations; character as the ability, under the guidance of conscience, to do this objectively; courage as the realization that some things are dearer than life itself, and the willingness to back this up. The Negro has not shown that, as a race, he possesses these qualities.

The judgment, character and courage of our leadership created the freedom which has

existed here as nowhere else in the world and which is the base of our greatness. It works this way: Where we cannot coerce and compel, we must persuade. Where we must persuade, we must consider the other person's interests and point of view. This results in essential justice and the greatest good to all parties concerned.

The Negro is free. He does not have to work for anyone he does not wish to work for, nor to associate with anyone with whom he does not wish to associate. He can develop his own communities, just as white people do theirs. But this freedom does not satisfy him. He wishes to compel the white man to associate with him, to receive him into the white community, to create conditions likely to lead to intermarriage. It is a strange freedom which does not work both ways. And the Negro would stand more

chance of attaining his goal if he had to persuade. His consideration of the interests and point of view of the white man might lead him to a better appraisal of the difficulties which stand in the way and a more realistic approach to their solution. His failure as a race to assume the responsibility inseparable from freedom and to meet the obligations implicit in rights is the basic cause of such abridgment of his freedom and rights as may exist. And why do Virginians feel as I do? A premonition, perhaps, that we stand where Rome stood in the early days of the Empire, and that what Gibbon ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire") said of her may become true of us: "The nation of soldiers, magistrates, and legislators, who composed the thirty-five tribes of the Roman people, was dissolved into the common mass of mankind, and confounded

with the millions of servile provincials, who had received the name without adopting the spirit of Romans."

There are inherent in man and human society certain natural laws. The failure of man-made laws to echo these natural laws can result only in social and economic chaos. The man-made laws in this case never win. "The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceeding fine."

Sincerely yours,

HENRY P. TAYLOR.

Walkerton.

If Courts Can Enact "Law of the Land," Liberty Is Lost!

Publication of
American Council of
Christian Laymen
Madison 1, Wisconsin

CHALLENGE

Shall We Follow
Our Lord Jesus Christ
or Leaders of
Atheistic Communism?

Vol. 6, No. 1

April, 1958

Ten Cents

Racial Integration Drive Camouflaged

To persons even casually acquainted with the operational methods of National Council of Churches, it is no surprise to learn that the Council is camouflaging its leading role in efforts to brainwash women and young people in the churches on matters pertaining to racial integration. Principal affiliated denominations are partners in the project.

Propaganda leaflets and pamphlets which present the absurd contention that racial differences are no more, or at least no more important, than difference in color of skin, are being recommended to study groups in the churches, and the denominational publishing houses are actively selling and distributing these misleading publications.

Plenty of Nonsense

During the past year special effort has been made to promote the sale and use of a pamphlet, *Sense and Nonsense about Race*, by Ethel J. Alpenfels. The pamphlet is 5 by 7½ inches in size, 64 pages, priced at 50 cents per copy.

The pamphlet bears the name of Friendship Press as publisher, but nowhere in it is there a clue to the fact that Friendship Press is a wholly-owned subsidiary of NCC, being no more and no less than the publishing imprint of the Joint Commission on Missionary Education of NCC.

Not Valid? Not Used!

"The practice of dividing man into groups based upon the color of skin is not valid," Miss Alpenfels writes. (Page 16). This is a clever bit of propaganda distortion and untruth. It sounds like a wise and true statement. It is both unwise and untrue because no such practice exists. Skin color is but one of a great many "sorting criteria" used by physical anthropologists.

Among the more important "sorting criteria" are skeletal differences. Some of these are noted in the tabulation appearing on Page 3 of this issue of *Challenge*.

Miss Alpenfels minimizes or sluffs over physical differences of the races. For example, she
(Continued on page 2)

Bayonets Breed Brotherhood?



"Get busy Loving each other—it's a court order!"

Are Reconstruction Days Returning?

Blood flowed in Little Rock following invasion by federal troops. Two citizens were wounded, one stabbed in the arm with a bayonet, the other's scalp broken by blows from a rifle butt or butts.

Men and women on city streets and juveniles on school grounds were herded like cattle at bayonet point, reminding of reconstruction days when no indignity was too gross for heaping upon a cringing South.

On Sept. 23 the President announced: "I will use the full power of the United States, including whatever force may be necessary, to prevent any obstruction of the law and to carry out the orders of the court." The "law" is the Supreme Court integration edict; the court order was that of a federal district judge.

Relying upon advice of the White House cabal, always under pressure of NAACP, ADL, ADA and similar groups, the President ordered invasion. His act was without constitutional or statutory authority. Only a fortnight earlier he had signed the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which specifically repealed Section 1989 of the Revised Statutes, a provision of the old Civil Rights Act of 1870 which did authorize use of troops.

Further, the President's act was expressly prohibited by the "posse comitatus" Act, passed originally in 1878, recodified by Congress in 1956 to become Par. 1358, Title 18, Crimes and Criminal Procedure, Page 626 of Volume 70A, United States Statutes at Large, which reads:

"Whoever, except in cases and circumstances expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress, wilfully uses any part of the Army or Air Force as a "posse comitatus" or otherwise to execute the laws shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than two years . . ."

It must be concluded, then, that the President acted wilfully and feloniously to intimidate and harass citizens of a sovereign state in effort to force acceptance of court-enacted "law of the land," and setting a precedent which foreshadows the onward march of totalitarianism.

Why has he not been impeached?

High Goals Set For Merger of Schools

Professional educationists attending the annual convention of the American Association of School Administrators at St. Louis over the George Washington's birthday weekend, launched plans for stepping up the drive to consolidate high school districts.

No high school can be efficient unless it has at least 40 teachers, the convention was told by a special committee which for two years has been studying the possibilities of further centralization of power and authority over public educational systems.

Most Schools Are Small

Admittedly this goal cannot be reached in the immediate future and it will be a tremendous job to accomplish since more than 75 per cent of high schools in the nation employ ten or fewer teachers. Elimination of thousands of these small schools is contemplated by these power-greedy professionals, for high schools in the nation now number nearly 24,000.

Of course it is possible for school boards to make pupil transportation a major share of their official activities, but in all except metropolitan sections the school districts would be so great in area that the last vestiges of local control of education would be lost.

But these educationists are in deadly earnest about these plans, just as they are about federal aid to schools.

Does Size Bar Science?

"Let's face it," pleaded Harlan D. Beem of Southern Illinois University of Carbondale, Ill. "If a high school isn't large enough to support a science course—if it doesn't have the teachers and facilities—then there just isn't going to be a science course in that school."

How much sillier can these educationists get? Just how small does a school have to be in order not to be able to offer instruction in the sciences?

James A. Garfield, whose term of office as President was ended by an assassin's bullet, is credited with having said something like this: "A log cabin in
(Turn page)

CHALLENGE

for
April, 1958

Price 10 Cents

Bundle rate, \$5.00 per 100

Challenge is not a periodical; it is published as a newsletter to members and cooperators of American Council of Christian Laymen.

For the Record

No statement in this issue of *Challenge* can be construed as indicating a belief that any race is superior to another. It is contended that the races are different, physically and mentally.

We also contend that God created the races and that mongrelization is no part of the plan He has revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures.

We believe that every human being has the right and duty to be proud of his race just as he should be proud of his family and the nation to which he owes allegiance.

In *Challenge* for February-March, 1956, we made it clear that we believe that the Supreme Court decision commanding integration in the public schools nullifies the citizens' guaranteed right of free assemblage and, in effect, is an attempt to repeal the doctrine of free will.

We believe that we are free of racial prejudice. We do not object to associating with people of other races, but we abhor the thought that the courts have a right to force us to associate with persons not of our own choosing.

We hold that the doctrine of universal brotherhood is a false, apostate doctrine. Whether or not this false doctrine was originated by Communists, certainly it is to their liking and they are using it with devastating effect.

High Goals Set . . .

the woods, with a pine bench in it, with Mark Hopkins at one end and me at the other is a good enough college for me."

Any student of any age thrown into such intimate contact with one of the great educators of the last century, president of Williams College for 36 years, could hardly escape getting a lot of education. The "laboratory" would be at hand, with plenty of facilities for studying botany, zoology, physics and astronomy, and did the "school" possess even so much as a copy of the Holy Bible, a whole "world of education" in history, literature, poetry, ethics and other subjects would be revealed.

Quality of teaching makes the school; millions of America's

cultured, well-poised, actually well-educated citizens never entered a classroom other than a one-room country school.

In *Magazine of Books of Chicago Sundry Tribune* for Dec. 22, 1957, one of America's top-ranking novelists and short story writers paid a glowing tribute to the grade and high schools which he had attended, starting about the beginning of this century. (He was born in 1894.)

The writer is Edison Marshall, author of *The Inevitable Hour* and many earlier novels. In 1921 he won the O. Henry Memorial prize for a short story published that year. The school he lauded, declaring that he always would be thankful for the "solid stuff learned there," is located at the small county-seat city Rensselaer, Indiana, 72 miles out of Chicago on the Monon Route.

Author Marshall recalled that among his classmates were boys who grew to be successful men, among them a mayor of the city, a county judge, a newspaper editor and a top-ranking department store executive.

One-Teacher High School!

This present writer was born in a small Michigan city, reputed to be the smallest incorporated city in the U.S.A. He completed most of the grade school work in the public school of the community, which had four teachers, three teaching in the grades and the high school principal, who was the sole instructor for the standard four-year course and also taught some grammar grade classes. Admittedly this school system was too small to be really efficient, particularly as regards high school instruction, but its graduates include many men and women who had successful careers in many professions and lines of business.

At the age of 12 years this writer was "transplanted" to Indiana and became a member of the Class of 1902 of Rensselaer High School.

For a goodly number of years, including three of those during which the writer was a student at Rensselaer High School, four teachers were employed; the superintendent helped out by devoting part of his time to instruction of high school classes.

This school has expanded and grown; a teacher of German and

other subjects was added to the staff for the school year of 1901-2, the first in the school's history during which modern language was offered. Probably more additions had been made before Author Marshall graduated.

One of the graduates of the Class of 1903, Elbert M. Antrim, was a boyhood chum of this writer. He never entered college; he went to Chicago after graduation and entered business there. A few years later he entered the employ of the *Chicago Tribune*. During the last years of his active business life he headed one of the *Tribune's* largest and most important departments, reporting directly to the president and publisher, the late Col. Robert R. McCormick.

Graduates 'Make Marks'

Other graduates of the earlier years of the century include many men and women who have "made their marks." Among them are both business and professional "top notchers"; one of them served for years as a federal district judge.

What was the "solid stuff" which was offered to graduates of classes prior to 1902? English and composition, 4 years; Latin, 4 years; algebra, geometry, chemistry, physics and general history, one year each; English history and zoology, one-half year each.

Science laboratory? Yes, students had the use of a combination laboratory, not so elaborately equipped as some, but adequate, with plenty of equipment to keep them busy.

School Had Advantages

Other advantages of even small schools of a half-century ago are too numerous to be listed here. All too many of them have been discarded in favor of frills and follies which subtract from rather than add to effective educational practices.

Like Edison Marshall and this humble scribe, millions of Americans of middle age are devoutly thankful that the schools they attended were so different in so many ways from the "progressive" schools of today, where Johnnies and Jennies do not learn to read, write, spell, "figure" or accomplish anything much else which will be of real value to them in adult life.

Big Labor Paternalism

Some factual information about the Kohler Strike was planned for this issue, but exposure of NEA plans, recently announced, for further centralization of control over public education, seemed more in line with policies of this publication.

One phase of the Kohler situation, namely the complaint of strikers that they suffered unduly under company paternalism, is discussed in an article under caption above appearing in March 13, 1958, issue of U. S. A., published every other week by U. S. A. Publishing Co., P. O. Box 134, Lenox Hill Station, New York 21, N. Y. Subscription \$10 per year.

More Information Available

For more information about the legal aspects of the Presidential order for invasion of Little Rock, see transcript of address by Atty. Alfred J. Schweppe on Manion Forum Network, Jan. 12, 1958, available at 10 cents per copy from Manion Forum, South Bend, Indiana, or this Council.

"Working papers" used in preparation of articles about integration appearing in this issue contain much additional information about Ethel Alpenfels and Liston Pope and their writings, and other facts which could not be included in the articles. Carbon copies of these papers are available from this Council at \$2 per set.

Racial Integration Drive Camouflaged

(Continued from page 1)

writes, Page 18, "Among the major stocks there is a difference of a few degrees in the angle of the jaw." (Ed. note: "stock" is another word for "race" in the vocabulary of anthropology.)

This writing rejects, or at least ignores, the Christian concept of man as a special creation. (Some Christians accept the theory of evolution to a point, agreeing that man's physical body developed from lower forms of life, which were God's creation, but all Christians must agree that man's soul comes from God).

Also ignored, in this pamphlet written for the instruction of Christian women and youth, is the biblical account of the origin of the races, or stocks, as the author prefers to call them. According to Acts 17:26, God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth; and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation."

Seeking Our Ancestors

To learn the answer to the question of why we have different stocks, Miss Alpenfels argues, we must go back "perhaps half a million years" to Western Asia. Our ancestors of that day lived in small, isolated groups, few in number.

From this point in Asia—or perhaps it was in Africa—"man began his endless travels that led to the farthest corners of the world." The reasons for the journeys may have been many, but whatever they were, "small groups fanned out over Asia and into Africa and toward Europe. In different areas new physical traits began to appear; changes in eye shape, head form, body build."

"Important in the story of man's physical development is the environment in which he lived," Miss Alpenfels writes. It is so easy to explain the Negro's color by asserting that it resulted from generation after generation of increasingly severe sun tan. But this explanation fails to take into account the fact that other groups, races or stocks which to this day are white, though not Caucasian, reside in the same latitude and under practically identical conditions of climate.

Consider, too, these facts: the Eskimo live exclusively on animal food, clothe themselves in thick fur and are exposed to intense cold and prolonged darkness, yet they do not differ in any extreme degree, physically, from inhabitants of Southern China who live on an exclusive vegetable diet and are exposed, almost naked, to a hot, glaring sun. Truly, climatic environment

(Continued on page 4)

State Is Slandered By Divinity Dean

Courts and citizens of Mississippi are grossly slandered in a book, *The Kingdom Beyond Caste*, by Dr. Liston Pope, dean of Yale Divinity School. Publisher of the book is Friendship Press, the camouflaged agency through which National Council of Churches sponsors propaganda pamphlets and books which advocate racial integration and mongrelization.

Surely the State of Mississippi also was slandered when the author quoted a Communist newspaper, *Das Freie Volk*, in Dusseldorf, West Germany, as declaring that "The life of a Negro is not worth a whistle in Mississippi." (The author located Dusseldorf in East Germany!)

"This verdict is again a sign of American Democracy," the Communist paper quotation continues. "Knowing that in the U. S. every hysterical woman can send a Negro to the electric chair by claiming that she was insulted, it is not surprising that until now no white man was ever sentenced to death in Mississippi because he killed a Negro." The indictment—the newspaper calls it a verdict—slanders all America, too, but we will consider only the jibe at a great state and its citizens.

Base Charge Is Refuted

Answering an inquiry as to validity of the charge, a Mississippi attorney replied that many cases refute it, but he would cite one which easily could be checked in any good law library in any state. He was right. It is the case of *Mitchell vs. State*, 179 Miss., 814; 176 So. 743. The facts, as revealed by the authorities cited, are these:

William Clark Mitchell, a white man, was accused of murdering an aged Negro in the course of a robbery. He was a fugitive from justice, hiding in another state for about three years, but the Mississippi authorities did not forget, and when Mitchell was apprehended, he was returned to Mississippi, tried, convicted and sentenced to death. The State Supreme Court upheld the verdict on appeal and set a new date for the execution.

Protest to Friendship Press with suggestion that it might wish to reconsider the desirability of publishing this slander was ignored. A similar protest to Dean Pope brought the amazing reply that he had assumed that readers of the book would assume that the statement is not true; he added that his own Southern upbringing satisfied him on this point.

The book is so much like the Alpenfels pamphlet in approach and argument that it seems unnecessary to describe it further. The biggest difference is in the price—the book is \$3.00 in cloth

Physical Characteristics of Two Primary Races

As Described by Earnest Albert Hooton, Harvard University Professor of Anthropology and Curator of Comatology, Peabody Museum of Harvard University, in his book

Up from the Ape, Macmillan, 1940

(Pages 575-6 and 619-20)

White ("European," "Euro-African," "Caucasoid")

Skin color: light brown (olive), pale white, pink, ruddy

Hair color: rarely dead black, all lighter shades

Hair form: never woolly, usually wavy or straight, sometimes loosely curled

Eye color: never black, all lighter shades

Nose form: usually high and narrow, sometimes medium, nasal index usually leptorrhine, never platyrrhine*

Membranous lip thickness: medium to thin, little eversion

Beard and body hair: moderate or abundant

Hair texture: usually medium to fine, rarely very coarse

Facial protrusion (prognathism): usually lacking

Chin prominence: pronounced to medium

Breast form (female): usually hemispherical

Buttocks (female): usually prominent

Pelvis: broad in both sexes

Blood group: usually much higher in A than in B

*Editor's Note: Usually narrow high-bridged nose, never broad, flat-bridged.

binding, \$1.25 in paper. But some consideration of the author's affiliations seem pertinent.

Dean Pope was one of the 141 members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee,

Negrito

(African Negro Is Primary Subrace)

Skin color: dark brown to black

Hair color: black

Hair form: woolly or frizzly

Eye color: dark brown to black

Nose form: bridge and root usually low and broad; short, profile concave or straight, rarely convex; tip very thick and usually elevated

Lip form: integumental lips thick, upper convex; membranous lips usually puffy and everted; marked lip seam

Hair quantity: usually short on head, sparse beard, little body hair

Facial protrusion (prognathism): often marked in sub-nasal region
Face form: usually somewhat short in unmixed forms, with malars (cheek bones) more prominent than in whites

Chin rounded and receding

Head form: prevaillingly dolichocephalic (long) with projecting occiput and rounded forehead; brow ridges small

Ear Form: usually short, wide ear, with narrowly rolled helix and little or no lobe.

Breast form (female): usually conical

Buttocks (female): usually less projecting than in whites

Pelvis: relatively narrow

Upper extremity: relatively long forearm, relatively short thumb

Lower extremity: usually relatively long lower leg, poorly developed calf, projecting heel, low foot arch

Blood group: usually very high in O, low in A and B

Sweat glands: more numerous than in whites

which was the "united front" set up by the Communist party in 1944. At that same time he was serving National Religion and Labor Foundation as chairman. This outfit never was branded as a Communist front,

Televised Teaching New Path To Power

Educationists are trying hard to "put over" state-wide projects in instruction by television. Some of the larger cities are experimenting along these lines, but the objective is state-wide instruction from a central point under control of the state department of public instruction. Should this objective be attained, it would be "mass education" on a scale never before even dreamed of by the power seekers.

Such concentration of teaching materials and methods would mean a straight jacket of absolute conformity for both teachers and students, a goal highly approved by Communists if not actually conceived by them.

Promoters of this drive for consolidation claim that through centralization the best of lesson materials could be prepared and presented in the most effective manner. This claim is completely false. One method, one approach, even one standard of "content" will not appeal or apply to all groups of students or to all individuals in the groups.

Consideration of the needs of the individual is inherent in good teaching. Without personal contact between instructors and students, the teacher cannot know whether he is "getting through" to the class as a whole or to the individuals who are members of the class.

Teachers Always Needed

Another false claim is that this plan of instruction from a central point will allow the schools to operate with fewer teachers. A teacher would have to be present at every television class session, to keep order if for no other reason; no television receiving set can handle problems of discipline, even the minimum amount used in all too many schools.

Admittedly methods of visual instruction have great merit. Studies made many years ago demonstrated that a student understands and remembers more of what he sees than of what he hears, and when he both sees and hears, the result is far better than can be obtained by either method used alone.

But to use this visual method it is not necessary to build a state-owned radio station at a cost of millions of dollars, plus tremendous operating and maintenance costs at the expense of taxpayers, and to further burden (Continued on page 4)

perhaps because it was organized many years earlier, but it adhered strictly to the Communist line and was apostate to the point of atheism. Pope also was a sponsor of the Communist front, People's Institute of Applied Religion, which was headed by the Communist renegade preacher, Claude Williams.

Racial Integration Drive Camouflaged

(Continued from page 2)
and differences in diet must be ruled out as accounting for physical differences of the races.

Friendship Press publications can be obtained "from any denominational bookstores," the pamphlet says.

Of course Friendship Press promotes sale and use of other books and pamphlets of its own production and similar materials from other sources. A book offered as particularly suitable for women's groups is *The Kingdom Beyond Caste*, by Liston Pope, dean of Yale Divinity School. This book is discussed in another article in this issue of Challenge.

Qualifications Examined

Now a final word about Miss Alpenfels. She presents herself to her readers, and to her audiences when she goes on speaking tours, as an authority on anthropology. In much of her publicity she is referred to as Dr. Alpenfels. Relying upon the word of an unimpeachable authority, a former teacher of Miss Alpenfels, and her friend and collaborator, it can be stated that Miss Alpenfels has a Bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago and no higher degree.

Miss Alpenfels never specialized in racial biology, or physical anthropology as that branch of learning is better known. She did however, take one course in that subject—apparently it did her little good. She has been an instructor at Beloit College and now at New York University. She is not a "working member" of any professional group of anthropologists. In short, she is a "social anthropologist." Professor Hooton, referred to earlier in this article, pays his respects to this particular breed of "scientists" in part as follows:

"To depreciate unduly the natural zoological differences that anyone can observe as existent in present varieties of the human species is not scientific, however laudable it may be from considerations of democracy and humanitarianism.

"If science obviously flies in the face of facts and ignores or denies taxonomic differences, it merely delivers over the whole dangerous business of interpreting human group variation to the tender mercy of the layman, the charlatan, and the political exploiter. The anthropologist who denies race leaves the house empty, swept and garnished for the entrance of plenty of devils." (Ed. note: Last phrases are a paraphrase of Matt. 12:43-45.)

Gerda Koch's 36-page pamphlet, *Federal Aid: Trap for the Unwary*, should be widely circulated. Moral and religious issues involved in education are discussed frankly. See book list on this page.

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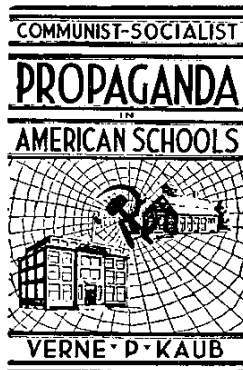
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Televised Teaching New Path To Power

(Continued from page 3)
"God's patient people" with the tremendous costs of receiving sets for classroom use.

Even a 24-inch screen provides a picture which can be viewed by only a small group of pupils. Providing television pictures on a large screen is a project for theaters, not school assembly rooms.

At a fraction of these costs the central agency could put the materials of instruction on films which could be mailed to the schools at small cost, and shown with sound film equipment already available in many schools, and not a great burden upon taxpayers when it must be purchased.

Local school administrators could pre-view showings to students. Any objectionable features could be "edited out," or instructors in charge could be prepared to comment upon distortions or untruths. Or if the entire presentation proved obnoxious, the film need not be shown. Another advantage: the films could be shown at times convenient to the local school, and not at times fixed, quite arbitrarily, by the state authorities.

Association Record 'Pink'

It seems needless to say that lesson materials provided by a central agency under domination of AASA and other NEA affiliates, subsidiaries and stooges would contain objectionable matter.

This association of school administrators is in fact the Department of Superintendence of NEA and for many years has been dedicated to debauching the American ideology of the important, dignified individual, born to be free.

When the NEA Department of Superintendence was in session in Cleveland, in 1934, Dr. Williard E. Givens, then superintendent of schools at Oakland, California, brought in the report of a "topic group" of which he was chairman. The report, Givens said, "comes directly from the thinking of more than 1,000 members of the department." It was 100 per cent socialistic.

One evidence of the fact of AASA and NEA approval of Communist-Socialist aims and programs is the fact that the following year Dr. Givens made his first appearance before the NEA convention as executive secretary of NEA, a position he held until his retirement in 1952.

For detailed documentation of NEA's determination to indoctrinate the youth of the land with godless, collectivist ideology, see the book, *Communist-Socialist Propaganda in American Schools*, which has been advertised in every issue of *Challenge* since publication in 1953.

Article Section

Printed in Two Sections

* **WOMAN'S PLACE IS UNDER THE DOME**By **ELIZABETH CHURCHILL BROWN** *D.C.*

REC-17

Women already constitute a powerful force in American politics. Disinterested and objective, they could — if they fully realized their own strength — become the most powerful force of all. This article tells what women should do and how they should go about it. Send a copy of this article to all the officers, the program chairmen, and the past presidents of each woman's organization in your community.

SOME 10,000 Communists in the United States boast that they can get 50,000 letters to members of Congress on any given subject within 72 hours. No one knows better than the Communists the power of letter writing.

It is high time the American public — and, in particular, women — realize it too. Women not only have the time to write but also the time to study politics. Women, properly organized and informed, could rule the roost under the Capitol Dome — a million Molly Pritchards strong.

Let us see what the lack of organization and knowledge has cost our Nation. To name only a few of the important roll call votes in the United States Senate during the last few years, in which proper organization might have carried the day, — I give you the Status of Forces Treaty, the "civil rights" bill, all the appropriations bills, aid to Yugoslavia, and last but not least the Bricker Amendment.

The Communists have been winning the letter-writing campaign because they are well organized and go about it in an intelligent way. Their agents in Washington know every detail of law and maneuver needed for the passage of a bill. They have an intimate knowledge of the members of Congress — their fallibilities, their ambitions, their strength. They know how the strings are pulled, votes traded, and how the blackjack can be applied to the weak.

Conservatives seem to feel that they have no "voice" and no power to deter the leftist trend in legislation. But they do not realize that neither the White House, nor the Congress nor the Supreme Court can long withstand the announced beliefs and desires of the people of the United States. Only by the letters they receive can the President, the legislators, and the justices know what the Nation wants and demands. When any of them are swamped with letters and telegrams of protest they are truly frightened.

The Bricker Amendment

Let us study the cause for the defeat of the Bricker Amendment. Few will forget that the amendment to the Bricker Amendment, the George Amendment, lost by only one vote. There were several Senators who were accused of being that "one vote," but one in particular demonstrates how the lack of political knowledge by one specific citizen caused a vote of "nay."

A Senator who, strangely enough, had no feelings one way or another regarding the George Amendment, decided he would use his vote to "pay off" one of his financial backers. Knowing his backer (whom we shall call Mr. X) to be a strong advocate of the Bricker Amendment, he asked him how he would like him to vote on the George Amendment. The answer was "no."

In this instance the George Amendment as well as the Bricker Amendment was lost because Mr. X, although a dedicated conservative, was completely ignorant of the road the bill had to travel on its way to becoming a law.

The Bricker Amendment, being an amendment to the Constitution, had to be passed in both houses by a two-thirds vote — first in the Senate and then in the House. A two-thirds goal is always a tough assignment, particularly when the White House is opposed,

and the Congressmen and Senators favoring the bill held many conferences on the strategy to be used. After the original Bricker Amendment had been defeated in the Senate they came to the conclusion that the only way to have it passed was to amend the bill with the George Amendment, which greatly weakened the original, and send it to the House.

The maneuver was to go as follows: Once passed by the Senate, the bill would go to the House Judiciary Committee where, there was good reason to believe, the original bill would be restored. House proponents of the bill had done their private poll-taking and felt assured of the passage of the strong original version of the bill, once it reached the House floor. The measure would then, as is usual in such cases, go to a conference group of members of the two Houses. It was felt that substantially the original bill would be recommended by the conference, and that final passage would follow.

This well-planned maneuver never got off the ground because the people (including Mr. X) favoring the Bricker Amendment did not know the tactical importance of passing the weak George Amendment, and therefore neglected to let their Representatives in Congress know their desires. The cost to the Nation was great.

LET US STUDY the difference in the way the Communists handled the "civil rights" bill last summer. Almost every day during the debate on the bill in both Houses, the *Daily Worker* carried information and orders for the comrades to pass on to their non-Communist friends and dupes. On August 15 the *Worker* ran a front page editorial entitled "The Zero Hour." It emphatically pointed out that although the proposed "civil rights" bill was a greatly watered-down version of what it was aiming at, this bill

was better than no bill at all. Let the editorial speak for itself:

THE ZERO HOUR is approaching for civil rights legislation — even for the Senate-weakened version of the Administration bill now in the House Rules Committee. *We disagree with those who are in full cry for the bill's defeat. We agree with the NAACP, the AFL-CIO executive council and other groups who have urged the House to pass the measure as a foundation upon which to build.* (Italics added.)

* * *

The danger to the bill results from the House Republicans' pressuring their members on the Rules Committee to vote with the Dixiecrats to kill it. . . .

The next step is up to the four Republican members of the committee . . . These are Leo E. Allen, of Illinois; Clarence J. Brown, of Ohio; Henry J. Latham, of New York, and Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania.

House Speaker Sam Rayburn, of Texas, has predicted that the Rules Committee will report the bill out within one week. But during that week *the people back home have the opportunity to tell their Representatives what they think ought to be done. And through their Representatives they ought to influence committee members.* (Italics added.)

Give us a bill now. Let the campaign next year and in 1960 be conducted on the issue of how to improve it.

For 25 years the Communists have been striving for a "civil rights" bill. Unlike the Brickerites who lost interest with the advent of the George Amendment, the Communists considered passage of the watered down "civil rights" bill as a triumph. They now feel assured that with each coming session of Congress they will be able to bring enough pressure on the legislators to strengthen the bill to their own liking.

Communist Strategy

A close perusal of Communist organization and influence is instructive. Communists waste little time "talking to themselves." By the mere token of their small membership of 10,000 they are obliged to enlist the aid of non-Communists and non-Communist organizations.

Last October 17 the *Daily Worker* published a work schedule for the comrades to pass on to their friends. The headline ran thus: VISIT CONGRESSMEN ON KEY ISSUES, UE URGES. The lead off was the following: "Visits to Congressmen at home during recess by union delegations have been called for by the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America." The article then went on to present the

issues the UE was emphasizing, which coincided exactly with the issues the Communist party was stressing.

ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION.—There is a hard drive by employers for new repressive laws of Government control of unions. These proposals include a Federal "right-to-work" law, break up of company-wide bargaining by applying anti-trust laws to unions, restricting labor's political action even further than Taft-Hartley, setting up Government controls of union elections and treasuries, etc. The Congressmen should be told the facts of life about corruption in unions, and our UE position against Government control of unions should be vigorously advocated.

TAXES.—Our tax laws are rigged for the wealthy. Taxes should be cut, loopholes for the rich closed, and taxes shifted to those best able to pay. This issue should be hit hard, as it's a bread and butter issue scandalously handled by Congress. It will be up for action in 1958.

SHORTER HOURS-MINIMUM WAGES.—Congress should act on proposals now before Senate and House Labor Committees to raise the minimum wage way above its present \$1 per hour level, cut the standard work week from 40 to 35 hours, and cover an added 11 million workers by this law.

SOCIAL SECURITY-EDUCATION-HOUSING.—Proposals to really improve these areas of social legislation are before Congress and are long overdue. Why doesn't Congress move?

CIVIL LIBERTIES.—Urge support in Congress of the Supreme Court assertion of traditional American Civil Liberties as against the McCarthyite witchhunts, the Un-American Committee, and repressive anti-democratic legislation. Urge Congressmen to have the courage to speak up on this issue.

(Note the use of "Un-American Committee" as the Communist name for the House Un-American Activities Committee.)

CIVIL RIGHTS.—Inform Congress of UE's strong support for effective legislation to protect the civil rights of the Negro people.

PEACE.—Without getting into involved foreign policy questions, let the Congress know the UE's policy on peace, and the desire and need for working people for a let up in the huge armaments race, and nuclear weapons dangers.

Here, then, are the orders to the comrades. What can American women do to counteract the efforts of the Communists and their stooges, the UE?

OF COURSE, the instructions quoted from the *Daily Worker* are direct orders, and being able to give orders is an advantage of the Communists which the American patriots do not have. Americans have no leaders to

do their thinking for them. And if they did, it goes without saying they would not always follow their bidding. Americans like to think for themselves. For this reason it is most important that the many thousands of women patriots and their organizations should educate themselves in Washington politics. With knowledge of the facts, they will automatically do the right thing. For those interested, a pamphlet called *Enactment of a Law—Procedure on a Senate Bill* can be most helpful. (Write: Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for Document 55, 83rd Congress, 1st Session, Senate, *Enactment of a Law*.)

The Realities of Political Survival

But more important than understanding the rules for the enactment of a law is a clear understanding of "the great game of politics" which must be played in the Capital. The hazards of this game are numerous, even for the most skilled politician. The Communists understand this thoroughly.

The legislator is perpetually being pressured by two groups, his constituents and the White House; and often the White House is able to influence the constituents. A county chairman, for example, may receive a "call from the White House." One can imagine how impressed he is when one of the President's advisers says over the long distance telephone: "Harry, the President wants your personal help on the civil rights bill." Quite often Harry is flattered into doing just that. He calls up Senator A in Washington and tells him the folks back home are in favor of the bill.

At the same time the Presidential adviser will also get busy with Senator A. He gives him a buzz on the phone, and if the Senator shows some obstinacy a personal visit is called for, and the pressuring begins. It is implied that a favorable vote may be rewarded with a juicy judgeship or ambassadorship for an important constituent. If that doesn't have effect it is then delicately hinted that an unfavorable vote may cause the President to withhold his backing in the Senator's coming election, plus the possibility that a generous allotment of party funds may be withheld. Senator A must decide whether he has more to lose from his constituents or from the Executive.

He must weigh his letters from home against the power of the White House.

(Parenthetically, a young lady, new in her job as secretary in a Senator's office, was so naive that she boasted to her friends that her Senator was very popular with the President because, she said, "the White House calls him all the time!")

THE CHAIRMEN of the committees also must do some plain and fancy politicking. Appropriations for the committees (among them important investigating bodies such as the House Un-American Activities, Senate Internal Security, Senate Government Operations, etc.) come up for vote every year. It takes a great deal of money to pay for a committee's operation: the counsels, chief researchers, the investigators; the secretaries, filing clerks, telephones, and traveling expenses not only for the investigators who sometimes have to travel abroad for information, but expenses of witnesses who do not live in Washington. On some occasions it is less expensive to take the committee and skeleton staff to a faraway city than to pay the cost of the many witnesses who otherwise have to be called to Washington. The less money in the committee till, the less effective the committee's work.

A week or so before committee appropriations come up, the chairmen are busy talking to their colleagues, pleading their cause, and quite often trading votes. That is, a chairman will vote for Senator B's bill; Senator B in turn will vote in favor of the money for the chairman's committee.

This is politics. And with a complete knowledge of how it works it is obvious that there is no such thing as politics without expediency. It is only when a politician makes the wrong decision on where expediency lies that he gets into trouble.

Timing is Crucial

One of the most important points in the business of letter writing by constituents is to know WHEN AND HOW OFTEN TO WRITE. It is well to remember that only one important bill comes up at a time and the members of Congress are concentrating on that one issue. If a constituent writes her Senator asking him to vote against the amendments to the Immigration Act when the immediate bill on the agenda

is the Hells Canyon Dam, she must remember that the Senator's office is busy sorting the mail and giving primary consideration to the letters on the dam. **A follow-up letter on the Immigration amendments must be written when that issue comes up for debate.**

A good example for the necessity of a follow-up letter was during the foreign aid appropriations debate last year. The avalanche of mail hitting Capitol Hill demanding a cut in foreign aid appropriations caused panic in the White House as well as in the offices of Senators favoring unlimited giveaway funds. The strategists decided on two remedial plans: 1) the President would make a series of radio and TV speeches in the hope of changing the minds of the people, and 2) the voting would be delayed for a few weeks in order to give people time to think it over (or, perhaps, to forget about it). When the vote finally came up, the mail had greatly subsided, the result being that only a small portion of foreign aid was cut. Here was a case where follow-up letters could have been decisive. The White House strategy paid off because it had counted on just such apathy.

It is easy to see, too, that had the letter writers been specific as to where they wanted foreign aid cut, our real allies, such as South Korea, Turkey, Free China and Spain, would not have taken a cut in vitally needed domestic and military materials. As it is, our friends who are uncompromisingly determined to fight the Reds, are obliged to tighten up their belts another notch. In the meantime, such pro-Moscow nations as India and Yugoslavia continue to receive millions of dollars in aid, to say nothing of the help Gomulka is receiving from the US taxpayers which enables him to keep an iron hand on the citizens of Poland. In this new Congress a bill will be proposed specifying "selective aid." It will be passed if the public speaks its piece.

AN INTELLIGENT knowledge of the agenda of both the House and the Senate as well as what bills are being considered in the committees is essential to the letter writer. For various patriotic clubs, a Congressional Agenda Committee could be a most important

part of the clubs' machineries. The information can easily be obtained from the offices of the legislators in Washington.

Another suggestion would be a Legislative Information Committee. Members of this committee would have the job of keeping the club membership informed on the business of the Congress. Each member should be allotted one subject as her particular assignment. If her allotted subject, for instance, is to be the amendments to the McMahon Act (which would permit our Government to share all our nuclear and missile secrets), she would take it upon herself to look for any mention of this subject in her daily newspapers, clip the item and paste it in a scrapbook. At each meeting of her committee she will read a summary report on what she has observed. The committee, in conjunction with the Legislative Agenda Committee, will then be able to inform the entire membership of the club of what amendments to the McMahon Act have been proposed, who is behind the proposals, what columnists have been for or against them, and what the amendments will mean. The Legislative Agenda Committee can then report on when the amendments will go to which committee, who the members of the House or Senate committee are and when would be the appropriate time to write the letters.

With the correspondence which would necessarily ensue between the club's committee members and the legislators' offices in Washington, the members of Congress will come to have a real respect for the work of and the opinions of the club as a whole, to say nothing of its influence back home.

How Activity Pays Off

Women who are well informed can supplement their letter writing by doing a little personal lobbying as well. HUMAN EVENTS reported the extraordinary success of a group of women who did just that in a news story entitled "It Can Be Done" (September 7, 1957). Last spring, Senator Kennedy (D.-Mass.) proposed several dangerous amendments to the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act. His proposals would have opened the floodgates to immigrants coming to this country with little screening of Communist agents,

with no regard for taking jobs away from American labor, or for the possibility of overpopulating our Nation with undesirables.

So well had Senator Kennedy done his own personal lobbying, and so cleverly and smoothly written were his amendments, that he had just about convinced himself and his followers that the votes needed were in the bag. Among others, the powerful Senate Leader, Lyndon Johnson (D.-Tex.) had been corralled into the Kennedy corner; Senator Dirksen (R.-Ill.) was brought into the fold, and a real feather in the Kennedy cap was that the co-author of the Immigration Act and strong anti-Communist, Representative Francis Walter (D. - Pa.), was beginning to weaken under the plausible arguments of the young Senator.

Women to the Rescue

Several women who had their ears close to the Capitol Dome became greatly alarmed and decided that they must quickly get some kind of miracle serum to the dying law. They persuaded a dozen women representing important patriotic organizations around the country to come to Washington. Under the guidance of Mrs. William D. Leetch, secretary of the American Coalition, they petitioned one of the immigration experts on Capitol Hill to give them a briefing. They met at the office of that society, where there were explained to them the meaning of the "fine print" clauses, the background of the amendments, who besides Senator Kennedy was behind them and exactly what the amendments would mean.

Thus armed, the women then set out to pay personal visits to members of Congress in their offices; not only to their own Representatives but to the key Senators as well. They told them that the people back home were greatly in favor of the immigration law and would greatly resent the amendments. On their return to their states, they informed their friends and club members what they had done and whom they had seen. They urged an immediate letter-writing campaign. The defeat of the amendments was in large measure owing to this small but concentrated effort of women patriots. Their calm and intelligent arguments actually persuaded a number of legislators to change their minds — including Senators Johnson and Dirksen, and Representative Walter.

ASIDE FROM actual bills coming up in Congress, there are national and international issues which can be affected by the voice of the people. The American public has the power to force an investigative hearing whether Congress or the Administration likes it or not. Had not the American public become so incensed at the dismissal of General MacArthur, it is possible that the Democrats could have sidestepped the famous "MacArthur hearings." There had been no time in history when Congress was so swamped with letters — all demanding to know why General MacArthur had been dismissed.

If the public was disappointed that they were not able to view the MacArthur hearings on their TV sets, they can only blame themselves for not demanding it. On several different occasions the late Senator Kenneth Wherry of Nebraska, then Republican Minority Leader, attempted to force a vote in the Senate for an open hearing. The Democrats, fearful of the public's reaction if they were to see and hear General MacArthur, voted the party line (with the exception of the late Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada). It was a close vote because several Republicans voted with the Democrats. But had Senator Wherry been backed up with pressure from the constituents he could have carried the day. He could not win fighting alone.

A new Congress is meeting and forming its committees this month. The leftists have already lined up their forces and are waiting for the opening gun. Their targets are to "improve"

the "civil rights" bill; to push the Kennedy amendments to the Immigration Act again; to amend the McMahon Act in order to disclose our military scientific secrets to allies whose security record is suspect; to defeat right-to-work legislation; to force Federal aid to schools; to enlarge foreign aid.

Nothing would please the men in the Kremlin more than to see America systematically destroyed from within, by laws passed in our own Congress. It is up to the women of America, therefore, to write to their members of Congress, urging defeat of this left-wing legislative program.

Above all, it is up to them to help forestall the greatest danger facing our country today: the proposed Summit meeting between Eisenhower and Khrushchev. The result of such a conference would be acceptance of the "coexistence" formula for surrender to communism, both at home and abroad. It is more than possible that it would mean the repeal of the Smith Act and other anti-subversive measures, and the end of the Un-American Activities Committee. Letters protesting the proposed Summit conference and the acceptance of "coexistence" must go to Senators and Representatives without delay. Now is the time for all good women to come to the aid of their country.

Elizabeth Churchill Brown, former newspaperwoman, is the wife of Constantine Brown, national columnist and Foreign Editor of the Washington *Evening Star*. Last year she published *The Enemy At His Back* (The Bookmailer, Box 101, Murray Hill Station, New York 16, N.Y. \$4). Mrs. Brown is a member of the Rock Creek Women's Republican Club of Maryland, the National Women's Press Club and the American Women's Press Club.

HUMAN EVENTS was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. It is published weekly at 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C., and reports from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. It is usually published in two parts: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article. \$10 per year.

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IS SEGREGATION UNCHRISTIAN?

From THE HOLY BIBLE (*King James Version*)

(THE OLD TESTAMENT)

- Genesis 1:25. And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and everything that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that it was good.
- Genesis 6:2. That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives of all which they chose.
- Genesis 6:10. And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.
- Genesis 9:22. And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without.
- Genesis 9:24. And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him.
- Genesis 9:25. And he said, cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.
- Genesis 9:26. And he said, blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.
- Genesis 9:27. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.
- Genesis 10:6. And the sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Canaan.
- Genesis 10:20. These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations.
- Genesis 11:6. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language, and ~~this they begin to do, and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do.~~
- Genesis 11:7. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.
- Genesis 11:8. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of the earth; and they left off to build the city.
- Genesis 11:9. Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.
- Genesis 15:1. And he said unto Abram, know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in the land that is not theirs; . . .
- Genesis 24:3. And I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heaven and the God of the earth, that thou shalt not take a wife unto my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell.
- Genesis 24:4. But thou shalt go unto my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son Isaac.
- Genesis 28:6. When Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob, and sent him away to Padanaram, to take him a wife from thence; and that as he blessed him he gave him a charge, saying, ~~Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan;~~
- Genesis 28:7. And that Jacob obeyed his father and his mother, and was gone to Padanaram.
- Leviticus 19:19. Ye shall keep my statutes. Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind; thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed; neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woolen come upon thee.
- Leviticus 20:24. . . . ; I am the Lord your God, which have separated you from other people.
- Numbers 36:5. And Moses commanded the children of Israel according to the word of the Lord, saying, the tribe of the sons of Joseph hath said well.

(OVER)

- Numbers 36:6. This is the thing which the Lord doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, Let them marry to whom they think best, only to the family of the tribe of their father shall they marry.
- Deuteronomy 7:3. Neither shalt thou make marriage with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son.
- Deuteron. 7:6. For thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God; the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth.
- Deuteron. 28:32. Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look, and fail with longing for them all the day long; and there shall be no might in thine hand.
- Deuteron. 32:31. For their rock is not as our Rock, even our enemies themselves being judges.
- Joshua 23:12. Else if ye do in any wise go back, and cleave unto the remnant of these nations, even these that remain among you, and shall make marriages with them, and go in unto them, and they to you;
- Joshua 23:13. Know for a certainty that the Lord your God will no more drive out any of these nations from before you; but they shall be snares and traps unto you, and scourges in your sides, and thorns in your eyes, until ye perish from off this good land which the Lord your God hath given you.
- Jeremiah 13:23. Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots. . . .
- Malachi 3:6. For I am the Lord, I change not; . . .

(THE NEW TESTAMENT)

- Matthew 5:17. Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill.
- Matthew 15:13. Every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.
- Matthew 15:14. Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.
- Acts 17:26. And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation;
- Hebrews 13:8. Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and today, and forever.



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Write to

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS

207 West Market Street Greenwood, Mississippi

Read and pass on

(OVER)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. DeLoach *[Signature]*

DATE: November 5, 1959

FROM : M. A. Jones *[Signature]*

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
DeLoach	_____
McGuire	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

SUBJECT: ROBERT B. PATTERSON
SECRETARY
ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS'
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

Miss.

BACKGROUND:

By letter dated October 27, 1959, captioned individual wrote the Director, enclosing editorials and a copy of part of a comic book which dealt with racial matters. Patterson desired to know whether the National Social Welfare Assembly has United States Government official status.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Information in Bufiles reflects that Robert B. Patterson has been active in the affairs of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi.

Mississippi

Bufiles reflect that at the request of the Department, we conducted investigations of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi in 1954. We developed the fact that economic pressure was being brought in certain instances against Negroes. The Department ruled that the activities of the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi and its use of economic pressure would not bring the organization within the purview of Executive Order 10450. We are not currently investigating this organization.

[Handwritten mark]

The National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc., was organized in 1946. At that time, Charles P. Taft, brother of Senator Taft, was President. Its purpose was to coordinate national planning among 39 private and governmental agencies. No derogatory information concerning the organization was developed with the exception that one of its officers was on the mailing list of the American Youth for Democracy in 1941.

Enclosure *sent 11-10-59*

105-34237-28-27

RWK:bew (2)

bew 181

REC-11 25 NOV 12 1959
EX-105

NOV 17 1959

CRIM REC

Jones to DeLoach memo captioned Robert B. Patterson, continued:

OBSERVATIONS:

This letter was discussed with the Racial Matters Desk. It was confirmed that Patterson's organization is not currently being investigated by the Bureau; however, we are following its activities.

While the Citizens' Councils are controversial organizations, current communication from Patterson merely requests information concerning the existence of any possible government status of the National Social Welfare Assembly.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to Patterson.

V.

GM
K

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

F B I

Date: 11/14/61

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-179) (P)
SUBJECT: MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL'S
RACIAL MATTERS

REC-49 *[Handwritten signature]*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum and eight copies of Form FD-323, both captioned as above. Submitted as enclosures to the attached letterhead memorandum are eight verifax copies of printed letter captioned "Memphis Citizens' Council, Organizational Committee, P. O. Box 2265, Memphis 1, Tennessee," and eight copies of sheet captioned "Why Must Memphis Organize?"

One copy each of the above is submitted to New Orleans for information, inasmuch as the contents disclose efforts and actions of members of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi.

The informants utilized in the enclosed letterhead memorandum are T-1 [redacted] and T-2 [redacted]. (Both informants were contacted by SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE. b7D)

Copies of the above-mentioned letterhead memorandum, its enclosures, and FD-323 are being disseminated to regional offices of G-2, ONI, and OSI.

The information from [redacted] was b6 b7C

Airtel received by SA WALTER HALL.

Teletype.....

A. M. 3 - Bureau (Encs. 32) PM

A. M. 1 - New Orleans (Information) (Encs. 4) PM

A. M. S. D. 3 - Memphis

Spec. Del. (1 - 157-179)

Reg. Mail (1 - 105-121)

Registered (1 - 105-148)

WHL: gmh

(7)

Account (4cc) [Handwritten]

Reg. Mail

11-21-61 REC-49 105-34237-28-29

By [Handwritten]

Sec's signature

C.C. WICK Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per

157-179

In accordance with Bureau instructions set out in its letter to Atlanta with copies to numerous other offices including Memphis in the case entitled, "Citizens Councils; IS - X," dated 6/13/58 (Memphis file 105-121, Serial 487), no active investigation will be conducted concerning Memphis Citizens' Council and no efforts will be made to develop new informant coverage in this Council.

However, this office will be alert to keep interested Government agencies and officials advised of actual or contemplated acts of violence in connection with the segregation issue.

In this regard, such information will be secured through established sources, office contacts, and close scrutiny of the public press.

In this regard, this office will utilize [redacted] and [redacted] as well as Confidential Sources (Racial) [redacted] and any other established sources in accordance with the above statements.

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b7C
b7D



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Memphis, Tennessee

November 14, 1961

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RE: MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL
RACIAL MATTERS

On November 8, 1961, Memphis Confidential Informants T-1 and T-2, each familiar with limited phases of the captioned organization, independently advised a representative of the Memphis FBI as follows:

An organizational meeting for the purpose of forming a Memphis Citizens' Council was held in the Military Room of the King Cotton Hotel on the night of November 7, 1961.

It appeared that about 200 people were present, mostly men. Those present were generally older people and most were well dressed.

A Memphis attorney, Marvin Brooks Norfleet, was the temporary chairman. He announced that the temporary secretary, Warren Webb, was absent due to illness.

Based on comments of Norfleet and others, the Memphis Citizens' Council was being organized by the help of the Mississippi Citizens' Council and will ostensibly be patterned after the Mississippi group.

Literature was distributed to those present.

One piece of literature was captioned, "Why Must Memphis Organize," and consisted of a series of questions and answers prepared by the Organizational Committee of the Memphis Citizens' Council.

This pamphlet deplored the current racial desegregation which has taken place in Memphis and pointed out that the Negro desegregation movement has met with "NO organized resistance and as a result has made inroads at MSU (Memphis State University) with the Transit Authority and most recently our public schools. The race-mixers are encouraged by the lack of organized opposition." This pamphlet pointed out that

ENCLOSURE 105-34237-28-28

MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL

it is highly significant that in cities and states having the strongest Citizens' Councils, there has been absolutely NO integration. In this respect, it cited Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina. It stated that it was inevitable that TOTAL integration would follow TOKEN integration.

The pamphlet added that the existence of a strong Citizens' Council in Memphis, with thousands of members and capable leadership, will be living proof to the politicians that a large number of white voters believe in racial segregation, and that the "politicians will be responsible to your wishes."

The pamphlet added that the Memphis Citizens' Council will be affiliated with the Citizens' Councils of America. It stated that membership will include a subscription to "The Citizen," the official publication of the Citizens' Council Movement, and local mailings of special interest.

Also obtained was a printed sheet captioned, "Memphis Citizens' Council, Organizational Committee, P. O. Box 2265, Memphis 1, Tenn.," which announced the November 7, 1961, meeting.

This sheet stated in part: "No doubt you are aware that the NAACP and similar minority groups of agitators are stepping up the tempo of their demands for total integration of the white and Negro races in Memphis--in our public schools, restaurants, business establishments, places of entertainment, and in all other phases of our lives. For the good of our city, and for the social and economic future of ourselves, our children, and our posterity, these agitators must be stopped! They must not be permitted to succeed! We must not surrender by default!"

The sheet continued that the Memphis Citizens' Council Organizational Meeting would be held in the King Cotton Hotel on the night of November 7, 1961, dedicated to preserving states rights, racial segregation and the integrity of the white race; that the Memphis Citizens' Council would be affiliated with the Citizens' Councils of America, a nationwide pro-segregation movement; and with the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government.

P. O. ST OFFICE BOX 2-349

MILAN, TBN NBSSBB

MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL

This sheet bore the printed names of and reproduced signatures of Marvin Brooks Norfleet, temporary chairman, and Warren S. Webb, temporary secretary, both of the Organizational Committee, Memphis Citizens' Council.

Also distributed to those present were blank copies of "Application for Membership" cards. This card contained spaces for name, address, city, phone number, business, sponsor, and member's signature. Block spaces were included to show that annual membership dues included a subscription to "The Citizen." It showed that regular membership is \$5.00 a year; that a sustaining membership is \$25.00 a year; and that a contributing membership is \$100.00 a year. It also provided spaces for the prospective member to indicate the Council committee on which he or she wished to serve; namely, "Membership and Finance," "Political and Legislative," "Information and Education," "Legal Advisory (attorneys only)."

Also distributed were blank check forms called "Membership Checks," shown to be payable to "Memphis Citizens' Council."

It was noted that about one-half of the 200 estimated attendees paid the membership dues during the meeting.

Also distributed to those present were copies of "The Citizen" October, 1961, issue, described on its face as "Official Journal of the Citizens' Councils of America." Its masthead listed its Editor as W. J. Simmons; its Managing Editor as Richard D. Morphew; and its Business Manager as Louis W. Hollis. It also listed its Editorial Advisory Board on page 14; from Tennessee it listed Richard Burrow, Jr., of the Advisory Board, Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, P. O. Box 349, Milan, Tennessee.

This issue carried an editorial on page 2 captioned, "We Have A Plan!" The editorial stated in part, "The door to race mixing has been opened in Memphis by a clique of politicians and moderates. Using a combination of stealth and force, these collaborators with the

MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL

NAACP have engineered a shameful surrender on the very borders of unyielding Mississippi, upon whose pro-segregation white citizens much of the cotton center's economic life depends.

"The Memphis press, television and radio, in an outright betrayal of their public trust, clamped a news blackout on the city until the mixers had acted against an uninformed public." ... "By contrast, cities like Shreveport, Jackson and Montgomery have determined city officials who will not betray the white people of their communities for the sake of Negro bloc voters." ... "Now that the advocates of integration have made their southernmost advances, it becomes an absolute necessity for every community to organize to the hilt. Everyone who wants to do something specific to help our beleaguered friends in Memphis, Dallas, and Atlanta get rid of integration is urged to contact this publication immediately. We have a plan." The plan was not further described.

Among those present were people from West Tennessee, including Jackson, Brownsville, and Dyersburg; several from Mississippi; and some from East Arkansas.

During the meeting, about eight or nine Memphians were named to the Nominating Committee, which was to meet after the meeting to nominate officers and directors for the new Memphis group. One of those named was Alvin Sullinger, who works at International Harvester and who walks with a limp. He is an avowed pro-segregationist. 78

Norfleet announced that about one-third of the people invited to the meeting had actually appeared.

W. J. Simmons, a leader of the Mississippi Citizens' Council, spoke. He said that in an effort to stimulate the growth of the Memphis Council he would send letters to all Mississippi members, asking them to contact any friends or relatives in the Memphis area urging said friends or relatives to join the Memphis Citizens' Council.

The Citizens' Council Memphis address was listed as P. O. Box 2265.

MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL

It was reported that the Memphis Citizens' Council will ultimately have monthly meetings; that it will also have weekly neighborhood meetings; a women's auxiliary which will promote coke and coffee parties, et cetera. These meetings will have a two-fold purpose: 1) to get new members and 2) to raise finances.

The speakers, including Simmons and Norfleet, emphasized that the Citizens' Council did not advocate violence to preserve racial segregation; that instead it was designed to be an educational and political pressure group in competition with the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and other Negro political pressure groups.

Simmons bragged about the high number of Negroes arrested in Jackson, Mississippi, in recent months in connection with their effort to desegregate bus, train and air terminals. He said that the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), one of the Negroes' sponsoring organizations, was broke in its financial effort to sustain the Negroes' legal defenses.

One verifax copy each of the printed letter captioned, "Memphis Citizens' Council, Organizational Committee, P. O. Box 2265, Memphis, 1, Tennessee," and the sheet captioned, "Why Must Memphis Organize?" is attached hereto.

On November 9, 1961, [redacted] Memphis, Tennessee, [redacted] advised a representative of the Memphis FBI as follows:

[redacted] of the Memphis [redacted] attended the November 7, 1961, hereinbefore-described meeting and in summary stated that the meeting room was labeled "The Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government." They estimated 190 people as being present, the general age group averaging about 40 years, with less than one-twentieth of the group being women. Very few young people were present. The majority present seemed to be of middle class and most were well dressed in business suits. The worst-dressed attendee was Sam Clark, ex-candidate for Sheriff of Shelby County, Tennessee.

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b7C
b7D

MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL

[redacted] summary continued that the meeting started with an invocation by Memphis attorney, Marvin Brooks Norfleet; that thereafter the meeting was turned over to Louis W. Hollis, who acted as Chairman and who claimed to be a charter member of the Citizens' Council, Jackson, Mississippi. Hollis introduced those on the speakers platform as Richard Burrow, Jr., of Milan, Tennessee, Citizens' Council; Dr. Medford Evans of ~~some Citizens' Council in Louisiana~~. He mentioned that Warren Webb of Memphis and who is on the Editorial Staff of "The Citizen" was absent. Also on the platform was Dr. Myrtle Walker of Memphis. Her husband was in the audience. The meeting was then turned over to William J. Simmons, leader of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, who said he is the Editor of "The Citizen."

b7D

TSUW.
Simmons made a lengthy talk basing his appeal on the race situation and underscoring the need for money and membership; the need for political expediency in capturing the Negro bloc vote. Simmons stated that token racial integration such as practiced in Memphis would force the issue of arousing the white race and that "we were in a war of the cold type" and that sacrifice was necessary to achieve a successful organization.

Simmons emphasized that seven years of close Citizens' Council and political cooperation in Mississippi had been mobilized and that police forces in Mississippi had been mobilized to handle the bus "Freedom Riders." He said it was only "five minutes from the bus station to jail."

Simmons cited a town in Texas where the Negroes, through the help of the NAACP, had started a form of residential blockbusting. Simmons said he would discuss, privately, with some members how blockbusting was stopped.

He outlined seven points or methods utilized by the NAACP in achieving racial desegregation as follows:

MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL

- 1) Gain support, in any manner, through the local school boards.
- 2) "Wrap up" the mayor or (city) commissioners.
- 3) Attempt to secure local law enforcement.
- 4) Control the press, either by editorials or the absence of same, which would aid their causes.
- 5) Institute an indoctrination program through civic clubs and organizations.
- 6) Influence state government.
- 7) Lack of resistance.

Simmons continued that the primary purpose of this meeting was to dwell on the seventh point, the lack of white resistance.

Simmons did not elaborate and turned the meeting over to Hollis. Hollis urged those present to join the Memphis Citizens' Council. He said that various committees would be formed. He urged the new members to solicit their friends and neighbors to join.

Simmons added that he would have members of the Mississippi Citizens' Council to list their known friends and acquaintances in Memphis and that these lists would be given to the Memphis group for solicitation for membership.

Among distinguished guests in the audience and who were honored by introduction were:

HUNTER
Clitt or Tip Hunter, Sheriff, Haywood County,
Brownsville, Tennessee;
Hugh Patton, Brownsville, Tennessee;
Mrs. Fred Peel, Paris, Tennessee;
W. P. Weldon, attorney, believed to be from
Memphis, Tennessee.

MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL

At the conclusion of the meeting, Hollis called out the following people to be on the Nominating Committee to meet later in his room to nominate officers: (These spellings are phonetic.)

~~Hugh Johnson~~
~~(First Name Unknown) King~~
~~John Adcock (possibly Aday)~~
~~R. E. Ely~~
~~W. Hollman~~
~~C. P. Slayden~~
~~Leo Burchfield~~
~~Jack Sellinger~~

(It is noted that none of the above eight names are listed in the current Memphis City Directory, with the exception of the name Hugh Johnson, of which there appears several listings.)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL
Organizational Committee
P.O. Box 2265
Memphis 1, Tennessee

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Fellow-Citizen:

Many persons are seriously concerned about the menace of racial integration which has invaded and now threatens our city. We believe that you share this concern and understand the hazard now confronting all of us in Memphis.

No doubt you are aware that the NAACP and similar minority groups of agitators are stepping up the tempo of their demands for total integration of the white and Negro races in Memphis--in our public schools, restaurants, business establishments, places of entertainment, and in all other phases of our lives.

FOR THE GOOD OF OUR CITY, AND FOR THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FUTURE OF OURSELVES, OUR CHILDREN, AND OUR POSTERITY, THESE AGITATORS MUST BE STOPPED! THEY MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO SUCCEED! WE MUST NOT SURRENDER BY DEFAULT!

A group of dedicated white citizens of Memphis has been searching for a solution to the problem--for a means to nullify the threat currently posed by the race-mixers. We believe we have found an answer...and we need YOUR help!

On Tuesday evening, November 7, 1961, at 7:30 p.m., there will be a meeting in the Military Room of the King Cotton Hotel in Memphis. Your presence at this meeting will be of great help in the effort to maintain racial segregation and good government in Memphis.

At this meeting, we hope to organize a MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL, to be composed of patriotic white Southerners who understand the need to maintain our historic system of States' Rights, racial segregation and preservation of the integrity of the white race, and who are ready to work with others of like mind to make their voices heard in an effective manner. The MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL will be affiliated with the Citizens' Councils of America, a nationwide pro-segregation movement, and with the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government.

By attending this meeting, you can have a part in this historic undertaking--which could well change the present downward course and mark the turning point for Memphis. Attendance is not restricted to those living within the Memphis city limits--all white residents of this area are urged to join in this constructive effort to restore our city's race relations to a course of sanity, to preserve our economic future, and to save our priceless heritage of individual freedom.

Kindly take a moment--NOW--to read the enclosed leaflet, "Why Must Memphis Organize?" It will answer many of your questions. Then, please indicate on the bottom of this sheet whether you are planning to attend our first meeting. Detach your reply, and drop it in the mail. We'll try to call you on the phone within the next few days to remind you of the meeting. Please make every effort to attend--and bring your family and friends. Everyone who believes in racial segregation will be welcome! We'll be looking forward to seeing you November 7th.

Sincerely,

Organizational Committee--MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL

Marvin Brooks Norfleet

Warren S. Webb

Marvin Brooks Norfleet, Temporary Chairman Warren S. Webb, Temporary Secretary

Detach and mail to:

Organizational Committee--MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL
P.O. Box 2265
Memphis 1, Tennessee

- I will attend the Organizational Meeting on Tuesday, November 7, at 7:30 p.m., at the King Cotton Hotel in Memphis.
- I will be unable to attend, but am interested in being a part of this organization.
- Sorry, but I'm not interested in the movement. Please take my name off your list.

PLEASE PRINT: Name: _____ Phone _____

Address _____ City & State _____

ALL THAT IS NECESSARY FOR THE TRIUMPH OF EVIL IS THAT GOOD MEN DO NOTHING

WHAT IS THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL?

Q--Who will run the Memphis Citizens' Council and set its policies?

A--YOU will! Everyone who attends the organizational meeting on November 7 will have an opportunity to make suggestions and ask questions. Each local Council--including ours in Memphis--is completely autonomous. The officers and directors elected by you and other members will plan our program and set our policies. In this manner, we will have the benefit of sound, responsible local leadership, plus the valuable opportunity to consult with other dedicated leaders throughout the South --and with other Citizens' Councils with problems similar to ours--through the Citizens' Councils of America.

on. The few hours of volunteer work which each member devotes to the Council will be repaid in full by the inner satisfaction of knowing that you are doing something positive for your children and for your community.

Q--How much will it cost me?

A--Most local Citizens' Councils have annual dues of \$5, \$7 or \$10 per member, with special rates for students, etc. This includes a subscription to THE CITIZEN--the official monthly magazine of the Citizens' Council movement--and local mailings of special interest. Our dues schedule must be established as part of our by-laws. This is one of the items which must be discussed at our November 7 organizational meeting, which you are urged to attend.

Q--What will I be asked to do?

A--As a member, you will have an opportunity to work with a committee of the Council, according to your own profession or field of interest. For example, you might be asked to help with a membership drive, by visiting your neighbors to enroll them in the Citizens' Council. Ladies may be asked to help address envelopes, or join a telephone committee. Attorneys will be urged to work with the Legal Advisory committee; teachers with the Information and Education committee, and so

Q--How may I join the Citizens' Council?

A--You may join at the organizational meeting of the Memphis Citizens' Council. This meeting will be held at 7:30 p.m. on Tuesday, November 7, at the King Cotton Hotel. Plan to attend--and bring your friends who feel as you do!

SEE YOU AT THE MEETING!!!

IF...

- (1) If you believe there can be NO compromise on the matter of segregation
- (2) If you believe that integration will bring the evils of miscegenation (interbreeding between the different races)
- (3) If you believe that social intermingling and miscegenation will be seriously detrimental to both races and to our civilization
- (4) If you realize that either Communistic influences or economic pressure groups stand behind every effort to invade States' Rights and force integration and miscegenation on the people of the South
- (5) If you believe in the rights of the Sovereign States to handle their own internal affairs
- (6) If you realize that indifference, apathy, and the inclination of some to accept desegregation as "inevitable" ... are our greatest enemies
- (7) If you are positively dedicated, in your own mind, to the preservation of segregation without equivocation or qualification
- (8) If you are ready and willing to DO SOMETHING positive about this very serious and present problem

THEN...

You should support the Citizens' Councils.



Be sure to attend the organizational meeting of YOUR

MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL

Tuesday, November 7, 1961

KING COTTON HOTEL

7:30 p.m.

Why Must

Memphis

Organize?



(Questions and Answers for white residents of Memphis who sincerely believe that States' Rights and racial segregation must be preserved for the peace and good order of our city, and for our children's futures)

Prepared by:

Organizational Committee

MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL

ORGANIZATIONAL--THE KEY TO VICTORY

WHY MUST MEMPHIS ORGANIZE

Q--What is the present situation in Memphis regarding segregation?

A--The NAACP and other organized race-mixers are trying hard to break down all forms of segregation. They have met with NO organized resistance, and, as a result, have made inroads --at MSU, with the Transit Authority, and most recently, in our public schools. The race-mixers are encouraged by the lack of organized opposition. They are now redoubling their efforts to achieve forced integration in every aspect of our daily lives.

Q--What can be accomplished by organizing a Memphis Citizens' Council? Will this stop integration?

A--Of course, it's impossible to guarantee results. But we can learn from experience. It is a provable fact that during the more than 7 years since the Black Monday unconstitutional decision by the Supreme Court, communities with strong Citizens' Councils have maintained segregation, while unorganized cities have surrendered to the NAACP's demands for race-mixing.

Q--Is there proof for the claim that "organization is the key to victory"?

A--Yes! It is highly significant that in cities and states having the strongest Citizens' Councils, there has been absolutely NO integration! In other areas, where there were no Citizens' Councils, integration has come. Here are some examples:

MISSISSIPPI--Birthplace of the Citizens' Council movement, has well-organized, strong Citizens' Councils. There has been NO integration! There has been less court activity and less agitation for race-mixing than in any other State!

ALABAMA--Another example of well-organized Citizens' Councils and NO integration!

SOUTH CAROLINA--Strong local Citizens' Councils and NO integration!

NORTH CAROLINA--Lack of strong local organizations led to "token" integration, now rapidly becoming widespread!

TENNESSEE--Integration forced upon the people ONLY where there were NO organized local groups to take the lead in preventing it!

Q--Wouldn't we be better off to agree to a little "token" integration in our schools, and get the problem settled?

A--Any honest observer will tell you that so-called "token" integration doesn't solve the problem, but simply creates MORE problems! Where white citizens submit to "token" integration, TOTAL integration will surely follow. This approach is advocated by white "moderates" who have no real understanding of NAACP aims. The NAACP will settle for nothing less than TOTAL integration!

Q--Some of the businessmen are saying that we'd better go ahead and integrate, or our city's economy will suffer. Is this true?

A--Far from it! In fact, experience has shown that the reverse is actually the case. The city of Jackson, Mississippi --often called the nation's "segregation capital"--has been leading the U.S. in business gains in recent years. By contrast, Little Rock suffered a business decline after its schools were integrated. Although Mississippi's determination to preserve segregation is known throughout the nation, Mississippi has recently been selected as the location for a new 125-million-dollar oil refinery. A number of states were competing for this important new industry.

Q--How will the formation of the Memphis Citizens' Council make my efforts more effective in preserving segregation?

A--First and most important, the existence of a strong Citizens' Council in Memphis, with thousands of members and capable leadership, will be living proof to the politicians that a large number of white voters believe in racial segregation. The politicians will be responsive to your wishes. The Council can also function effectively in the field of education--bringing the facts about the evils of racial integration to the attention of Memphis residents. The organization can serve as the rallying-point for all who believe in the principles of States' Rights and Racial Integrity, and can be a positive force for good in our community. Group action, with patriotic white people working together under responsible local leadership, can save Memphis from the tragic fate of Washington, D. C., New York City, Chicago, and other "monuments" to integration!

"ALL THAT IS NECESSARY FOR THE TRIUMPH OF EVIL IS THAT GOOD MEN DO NOTHING!"

--Edmund Burke



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee

November 14, 1961

Title: MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Memphis,
Tennessee, dated November 14, 1961, captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) used in referenced
communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 05-06-2011 BY 60324 UCBAW/SAB/SBS

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loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

105-34237-25-28

F B I

Date: 12/2/61

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (105-121) (P) **REC-29**
RE: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS
OF MISSISSIPPI
RACIAL MATTERS

Enclosed herewith are 8 copies of the letterhead memorandum captioned as above and dated 12/2/61.

Copies are being designated to regional offices of ONI, OSI, and G-2 and Provost Marshal.

The Agent receiving information from ROBERT B. PATTERSON is SA GEORGE A. EVERETT. Chief of Police at Winona, Miss., also volunteered information to SA EVERETT.

UACB no active investigation will be made concerning this matter in view of current Bureau instructions relative to not conducting active investigations re Citizens' Council movement. However, any pertinent information developed will be promptly reported to the Bureau and any interested agencies.

Agency Memphis
Req. Rec'd _____
Date Forw. 12-8-61
How Forw. By
By file copy unit
see's destroyed.
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105-34237-28-29
DEC 5 1961

Airtel 3 Bureau (Encls-8)
Teletype (2- 105-34237)
(1- 62-107261)
A. M. 2-New Orleans (Info) (Encls-2) **REC-29**
(1- 105-)
A. M. S. D. (1- 62-3395)
Spec. Del. 2-Memphis
Reg. Mail (1- 105-121)
(62-1187)
Registered WHL:BEW

Approved: [Signature] Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge
C C = Wick

ENCLOSURE

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-107721-

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1104 STERICK BUILDING
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
DECEMBER 2, 1961

RE: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS'
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI
RACIAL MATTERS

"The Clarion Ledger", a Jackson, Mississippi, daily newspaper, issue of November 29, 1961, published a letter written by ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Executive Secretary, Association of Citizens' Councils, Greenwood, Mississippi, in which he stated that the NAACP, CORE, and many other left-wing organizations are sending groups of radicals throughout the South in attempt to break local and state laws and to violate local customs. PATTERSON added that many southern communities are organizing groups of "Minute Men" in order to counteract such acts of aggression. He continued that the "Minute Men" organizations are made up of leading white citizens in each community including bankers, lawyers, businessmen, farmers, and community leaders; that the purpose of this group is to peaceably assemble on short notice at any given point within the community or county to demonstrate a citizens' protest against any invasions of Mississippi institutions; that their presence will lend moral support to local law enforcement offices who well may be outnumbered by the outside invaders. He said that the key men in each organization will be 7 Colonels and that when the situation arises each Colonel will telephone 5 Captains under his jurisdiction and that each of the 5 Captains will call 5 Lieutenants and that in this manner in a few minutes a substantial group could be alerted to assemble at a given point.

PATTERSON concluded his letter stating that this is a "non-violent" counteraction to the organized "Non-violent" law breakers.

"The Commercial Appeal", a Memphis, Tennessee, daily newspaper, issue of December 1, 1961, in a story written by correspondent JAMES LEWIS, datelined Greenwood, Mississippi, stated that some members of the Greenwood Chapter of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi (ACCM) said that no such "Minute Men" organization was being found there; that others said such an organization existed but declined

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to discuss it further. LEWIS in a story stated that PATTERSON declined to say how the groups would aid local officers and declined to say whether or not they would be sworn in as deputies or whether any local chapters are now organized. LEWIS stated that on November 29, 1961, PATTERSON had stated Greenwood, Grenada, and Winona, Mississippi, all had chapters of "Minute Men". LEWIS quoted HARDY LOTT, a Greenwood attorney, as refusing to elaborate on PATTERSON's statement. He reported STANNY SANDERS, an attorney who was president of the Greenwood Chapter of the ACCM, as saying that the "Minute Men" had nothing to do with trouble which developed at the bus terminal in McComb, Mississippi, on November 29, 1961.

The news story added that the head of a national organization which calls itself the "Minutemen" said that his group had absolutely no connection with PATTERSON's group. LEWIS continued that ROBERT DePUGH of Norborne, Missouri, a chemical firm president, and the head of the "Minutemen" stated that PATTERSON was talking "through the top of his head" and that PATTERSON was not a member of DePUGH's organization. LEWIS continued that DePUGH said, "If there is any one thing we have tried conscientiously to do it is to avoid any prejudice or allow any religious or racial controversy to enter our organization. We have very few rules which would result in the immediate expulsion of a member but one of these is that a member should be automatically let out if he involves himself in any activity which can give the organization a bad name by associating with hate organizations."

On November 30, 1961, ROBERT B. PATTERSON volunteered to a representative of the FBI that the "Minute Men" is an inner group within the ACCM; that it is an informal group organized on a military basis, set up to give moral support to local law enforcement and city officials in those instances wherein their respective communities are invaded by any outside agitators aiming to "test" local segregation laws or customs; that the main purpose of his group is to prevent, rather than to promote, violence. PATTERSON pointed out that there has recently been a influx of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) sponsored Negro bus riders to McComb, Mississippi, to test the unrestricted use of bus terminal facilities; that there has been some isolated violence in connection with this operation but that the ACCM and its "Minute Men" has not participated in any of this violence.

On the contrary, he said, the ACCM, through its "Minute Men" groups will endeavor to counsel against violence.

ME 105-121

Further, that his group will not serve as auxiliary police. However, he feels that in many cases a mob can form which can be sufficiently large and boisterous as to render helpless the small number of local law enforcement officers in any given location. In these instances, the "Minute Men", by virtue of their very presence in numbers, can give tremendous moral support to the police in such instances and can possibly by virtue of this prevent violence. Further, he said, the "Minute Men" by concerted and firm demonstrations of numbers and strength can potentially deter emotionally wrought white or Negro extremists from engaging in any acts of violence. He continued that his group will not attempt to serve as police and will not be under the control of the police. His group, he said, will not be an "action group"; further, that its ranks will be made up of leading and responsible citizens in any given community and will not consist of any "riff raff" of any irresponsible citizens who would normally be prone to engage in violence. PATTERSON commented that his group of "Minute Men" has no connection whatsoever with an organization known as "Minutemen", a nation-wide organization headed by ROBERT DePUGH of Norborne, Missouri.

On December 1, 1961, TOMMY HERROD, JR., Chief of Police, Winona, Mississippi, volunteered to a representative of the FBI that he has gained the impression that the ACCM "Minute Men" may possibly serve in the role of auxiliary police but that such a group would not be used unless requested by the local Chief of Police or local Sheriff in any given situation. He volunteered that some of the ACCM "Minute Men" may want to think that they can be used to prevent police hecklers from intimidating police in their duties of maintaining law and order. HERROD said that as far as he personally was concerned, the "Minute Men" would not be used for that purpose.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/17/62

FROM : *WMP* SAC, MEMPHIS (157-NEW) RUC

SUBJECT: CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA
RACIAL MATTERS
(OO: NEW ORLEANS)

Enclosed herewith are 8 copies of letterhead memo setting forth results of activities of instant group in Nashville, Tenn. on 4/6/62.

4/17/62
WMP
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This confidential informant T-1 is former Careful consideration has been given to the use of T-symbols in instant memorandum and T-symbols have been utilized only because it was necessary to protect the identity of the informant.

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No active file is being opened on the subject organization because of the activity in Nashville, Tenn. It is believed that activities of this group can be followed through the confidential source named above and in the event there is sufficient activity on the part of the organization the file can be activated.

- ② - Bureau (Encl 16)
 - 2 - New Orleans (Encl 4)
 - 2 - Memphis
- FWN:bam
(6)

ENCLOSURE

Agency G-2, ONI, OSI, CRD

Date Forw. MAY 2 1962

How Forw. no

By [Signature]

ccs Org. Unit

Web destroyed

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REC-41

~~105-34237-28-29X~~
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10 APR 23 1962

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WMP

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
APRIL 17, 1962

RE: CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA
RACIAL MATTERS

On April 6, 1962, Memphis confidential informant T-1 advised that there was a called meeting of individuals interested in the organization of a chapter of the Citizens' Councils of America in Nashville, Tennessee. Informant stated that the group was being sponsored in Nashville, Tennessee by certain individuals who had formerly been connected with the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government. According to this source of information, letters of invitation had been sent out to approximately 1,000 persons. The mailing list had been obtained principally from the old records of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government with some additional names added. According to the informant, only 25 answers were received from the letters which were sent out, however, the group still hoped that they would have approximately 200 people attend the meeting. The informant stated that [redacted] was interested in the formation of the new group as was [redacted] and [redacted]. Informant stated that the letters of invitation had gone out over the signature of [redacted]. Informant stated that [redacted] who were friends of [redacted] and who had been active in the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government had opposed the formation of the new group. According to the informant, [redacted] pointed out that the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government had been a group that was interested in the question of constitutionality of certain court decisions and actions taken by Governmental authorities including Congressional groups. They felt that the formation of the Citizens' Councils group was strictly a racial matter and they felt that they did not want to become involved in it and further felt that this was a waste of time. The informant stated that it was understood that the headquarters for the Citizens' Councils of America was at Jackson, Mississippi and that some of the officials of the group from Jackson would be present in Nashville for the meeting. According to the

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MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

105-34237-28-29X

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ENCLOSURE

informant the meeting would be held at the Noel Hotel, Nashville, Tennessee, on the night of April 6, 1962.

On April 6, 1962, an Agent of the FBI observed that the activities board at the Noel Hotel lobby indicated that the Citizens' Councils of America would meet in the ballroom.

[redacted] Noel Hotel, advised that the arrangements for holding the meeting at the hotel had been made by [redacted] on or about March 15, 1962. He stated that he did not inquire of [redacted] the nature of the group and that the only information he had was that it would be a group of approximately 200 persons.

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An article appeared in The Nashville Tennessean, a daily newspaper published in Nashville, Tennessee, on April 7, 1962 stating that a Nashville citizens' council under temporary direction of an organizational committee had been organized at a meeting at the Noel Hotel on the night of April 6, 1962. The article stated that some 175 people signed membership cards or paid initial dues of \$5.00 to \$100.00 to form a local organization after hearing talks by RICHARD T. ELY, President of the Memphis Council, and WILLIAM SIMMONS, Editor of The Citizen, the official journal of the Citizens' Councils of America. This article stated that temporary officers are JOHN M. ADEN, Associate Professor of English, Vanderbilt University, and Dr. CLYDE ALLEY, a physician as Co-Chairmen, LAMBUTH MAYES, an employee of Genesco, was Secretary - Treasurer. The article stated that ELY, in his talk, stated that the nation was being led down a path of "mongrelization" through integration and added that the entire movement was inspired and prompted by the Communists. He said the churches, the press, the NAACP were all being used by the Communists in an attempt to overtake the United States. He stated that as a last resort he favored closing the public schools of the state to stop integration. The article indicated that the audience was made up primarily of middle-aged men.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

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An article appearing in The Nashville Banner, Nashville, Tennessee, on April 7, 1962 concerning the same meeting stated that more than 80 persons were in attendance and pointed out that the public was not invited. This article also stated that RICHARD T. ELY, Memphis Attorney, President of the recently organized Memphis Citizens' Council, was the principal speaker but also stated that others speaking were WILLIAM J. SIMMONS and LOUIS W. HOLLIS, both of Jackson, Mississippi. It furnished the names of the same individuals

WILLIAM J. SIMMONS

as officers. The article pointed out that letters of invitation to attend were mailed out over the name of LAMBUTH MAYES. They stated the purpose of the meeting and they were marked confidential. This article stated that after the speeches, HOLLIS appointed a nominating committee from the audience to meet in secret caucus to name a Board of Directors. The committee was told to report at the next meeting. Time and date for the first meeting of the newly created Nashville Citizens' Council was not announced.

In reporting on ELY'S speech the Banner quoted him as calling for "an Army" of white Nashvillians to organize and join other citizens' councils throughout the South to maintain racial segregation, States Rights and to preserve the integrity of the white race. It ~~quoted~~ him as stating "If necessary, we should do away with public schools in Tennessee. We may be a martyr to the cause, but if we do it we may save the whole country."

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

APRIL 17, 1962

Title: CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Reference: Letterhead Memorandum dated April
17, 1962 captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) used in
referenced communication have furnished reliable information
in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 05-06-2011 BY 60324 UCBAW/SAB/SBS

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ENCLOSURE

105-46604-48

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 05-06-2011 BY 60324 UCBAW/SAB/SBS

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237-28)

DATE: 10/29/62

FROM : SAC, MEMPHIS (157-179) P*

SUBJECT: MEMPHIS CITIZENS' COUNCIL
RM

Relet Bureau to Memphis 9/24/62 entitled, [redacted] inquiring as to whether ROLLAND J. JOHNSTON of Memphis, Memphis organizer for United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., had been successful in infiltrating the Memphis Citizens' Council (MCC) and using it as a recruiting ground for the United Klans; also whether the MCC has a potential for violence.

In reply, it is to be noted that on 9/12/62 ROLLAND J. JOHNSTON communicated with [redacted] and commented "...much has happened in the last few days, I have got 4 or 5 new members in the Citizens Council and two of them seem very to be very interested in the Klan. I am to meet with them soon and try to explain klancraft to them. They are both in a good position to be a great help in reorganizing the Klan..."

[redacted] who is a [redacted] and of the [redacted] advised that several Dixie Klans Members, namely, [redacted] and [redacted] are all members of the MCC; however, none are in a position of leadership.

This informant added that BARNEY L. LOFTON, SR., is a member of the Executive Board of the MCC and that he is also a member of the NSRP.

Both [redacted] who are in contact with [redacted] stated that in their respective considered opinions [redacted] has no policy-making influence in the MCC. They have seen him in attendance at a few meetings but he has made no speeches or utterances.

[redacted] pointed out that there is considerable professional jealousy on the part of NSRP leaders EMMETT E. MILLER, FRANK WHISMAN and WILLIAM [redacted] with regard to the MCC.

- 2 - Bureau (105-34237-28) RM
- 2 - Memphis (1 - 157-179)
- (1 - 105-566, United Klans)

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[redacted] Confidential Source (Rac), who is [redacted] has advised that the MCC is conscious of the fact that Klan-type individuals may try to influence actions of the MCC and that the responsible MCC leadership is most alert to thwart such efforts.

[redacted] and [redacted] have advised that to date there has been no indication that the MCC will pursue any course of action utilizing violence.

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This office, through its racial sources, will continue to be alert for any manifestations of violence on the part of the MCC. No active investigation of the MCC is being conducted. Its activities will generally be followed through the local press and through racial informants and sources.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

39600

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 12/5/62

FROM : SAC, MEMPHIS (105-121)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel dated 11/20/62.

Pursuant to Bureau instructions, the following is submitted regarding Citizens Councils and the coverage thereof in this Field Division:

1) COUNCILS

- A. Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi (ACCM)
Memphis file 105-121
Bureau file 105-34237

The last known list of local chapters and officers of this organization available to this office was obtained on 1/27/58 and lists the following, separated by Resident Agencies:

OFFICERS OF LOCAL CHAPTERS OF ACCM

Resident Agency - Tupelo, Mississippi

<u>County</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Officers</u>
Alcorn	Corinth	ALBERT D. PACE, JR., Pres. O. W. PITTMAN, Vice Pres. LESTER JAMES, Secretary
Lee	Tupelo	Dr. A. N. WILSON, Pres. R. B. KIRKSEY, Secretary
Prentiss	Booneville	THOMAS COMER, President R. H. BURRESS, Vice President FRED HOUSTON, Secretary
Tippah	Walnut	HERMAN KEITH, President L. E. HORTON, Vice President T. H. JACKSON, Secretary

2 - Bureau
1 - Memphis
JHK:gmh
(3)

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OFFICERS OF LOCAL CHAPTERS OF A...

Resident Agency - Greenwood, Mississippi

<u>County</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Officers</u>
Leflore	Greenwood	HARDY LOTT, President L. FLOWERS/HAMRICK, Vice Pres. BOB CARPENTER, Secretary J. H. PEEBLES, Treasurer
Leflore	Itta Bena	W. S. CURRY, President C. H. MURPHY, Secretary
Leflore	Minter City	B. J. ROBERSON, President H. C. STRAIN, Vice President HUGH M. ARANT, Secretary
Leflore	Money	CECIL M. BOLAND, President M. C. DAVIS, Vice President R. R. BERNANDER, Secy.-Treasurer
Leflore	Morgan City	L. S. POINDEXTER, President H. M. MAJORS, Secretary
Leflore	Schlater	H. C. MC SHAN, President M. C. TAYLOR, Secretary
Leflore	Sidon	DOUGLAS SMITH, President J. B. HATHCOCK, Secretary
Attala	Ethel	JOE RONE, President J. W. RILEY, Vice President PERCY FORD, Secretary Rev. FRANK HALL, Treasurer
Attala	McAdams	JESSIE JAMES, President ROBERT HOLLINGSWORTH, Vice Pres. J. W. HASKINS, Secretary
Attala	Sallis	J. MELVIN WADDELL, President J. E. HUGHES, Vice President J. S. HUGHES, Secretary J. J. SMITH, Treasurer
Carroll	Carrollton	H. P. BRYAN, President MAURICE BLACK, Vice President H. L. NUNNALLY, Secretary

ME 105-121

OFFICE OF LOCAL CHAPTERS OF ACCM
Resident Agency - Greenwood, Mississippi

<u>County</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Officers</u>
Carroll	Vaiden	BERNARD SANDERS, President J. W. EADES, Vice President ✓ H. E. STEWART, 2nd Vice President G. W. TURBEVILLE, JR., Treasurer
Grenada	Grenada	B. W. MC ELWRATH, President H. J. WILLIAMS, Vice President FRANK JAMES, Vice President L. C. PROBY, Secretary
Grenada	Gore Springs	FRANK JAMES, President BOBBY GILLON, Vice President GEORGE WILLIAMS, Secretary
Montgomery	Winona	M. L. BRANCH, President CHRIS FASER, Vice President LEX STRINGER, Secy.-Treasurer
Montgomery	Duck Hill	C. A. WILKINS, President T. P. CAFFEY, Vice President
Humphreys	Belzoni	J. N. BRYAN, President G. B. MORTIMER, Vice President W. M. ALLEN, Secretary R. L. TOWNSEND, Treasurer
Humphreys	Isola	NELSON FREEMAN, President E. S. HERRINGTON, Vice President BILLY GARRARD, Secretary GRADY HARPER, Treasurer
Humphreys	Louise	BOYD KELLUM, President CURTIS JOHNSON, Vice President SAM SMITH, Secretary

105-121-237

Resident Agency - Greenwood, Mississippi

<u>County</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Officers</u>
Sunflower	Drew	ROY CLARK, President JOE STEVENS, Vice President W. H. NEWLTON, JR., Secretary
Sunflower	Indianola	GORDON L. LYON, President ALTON EAST, Vice President D. H. HAWKINS, Secretary
Sunflower	Inverness	JONAS JONES, President W. O. JONES, Vice President J. D. BOWLES, Secretary PAUL KING, Treasurer
Sunflower	Linn	C. T. SPENCE, Secretary
Sunflower	Moorhead	J. A. WILLIAMS, President R. F. HARRISON, Vice President J. W. HARMON, Secretary
Sunflower	Ruleville	H. C. EASTLAND, President JOE HANUM, Vice President TOM WEBB, Secretary
Sunflower	Sunflower	PETE FISHER, President R. P. ROBERTS, Secretary RUSSELL BETTES, Treasurer

Resident Agency - Columbus, Mississippi

Lowndes	Columbus	WILLIAM J. PROEST, President TOM HARDY, Vice President F. M. VAUGHN, Vice President R. C. HERRON, Vice President BEN OWEN, Secretary-Treasurer
Chickasaw	Houlka	BOB SHELTON, President LLOYD COLLUMS, Vice President BILLY G. ARON, Secretary G. C. TURNER, Treasurer
Chickasaw	Okolona	WILLIE GREGORY, President ED DEMOVILLE, Vice President ARTHUR QUINN, Secretary

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ME 105-121.

OFFICIALS OF LOCAL CHAPTERS OF ALCM

Resident Agency - Columbus, Mississippi

<u>County</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Officers</u>
Clay	West Point	HENRY ELLIS, President W. C. LODEN, JR., Vice President L. F. SAMS, Secretary A. M. EDWARDS, JR., Treasurer
Monroe	Aberdeen	MOLLY HALBERT, President ROBERT WATKINS, Vice President W. C. STRONG, Secretary
Oktibbeha	Starkville	C. A. JOHNSON, President W. C. SANDERS, Vice President GEORGE DELIVORIAS, Secretary
Webster	Cumberland	J. R. DAVIS, President H. I. HILL, Vice President S. S. HENDERSON, Secretary
Webster	Eupora	Dr. GEORGE M. WILSON, President WERNER WOODS, Vice President MUSE DAVIS, Secretary
Winston	Louisville	W. H. HIGHT, President EVERETT WATKINS, Vice President W. O. SNOW, Secretary ARCHIE R. MC DONALD, Treasurer
Calhoun	Calhoun City	RUSSELL P. SHIPP, President JAMES R. HENRY, Vice President Mrs. G. C. COONER, Sr., Secretary

Resident Agency - Oxford, Mississippi

Lafayette	Oxford	BEN JACK HILBUN, President DAVE PRITCHARD, Vice President BILL LOVELADY, Secretary SYKES HANEY, Treasurer
Panola	Batesville	C. BRYANT YOUNG, President L. S. DAVIDSON, Vice President J. V. STILL, Secretary

ME 105-121

OFFICIALS OF LOCAL CHAPTERS OF M. M.

Resident Agency - Oxford, Mississippi

<u>County</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Officers</u>
Yallobusha	Oakland	E. N. FROST, President J. B. HATLEY, Vice President L. B. ROSS, Secretary R. W. BOONE, Treasurer,
Yallobusha	Water Valley	ROBERT W. JONES, President MARTIN D. ADAMS, Secretary
Memphis Road Trip South		
Tate	Coldwater	H. G. MITCHELL, President Z. M. VEAZEY, Vice President G. W. WEEKS, Secretary A. B. PRESLEY, Treasurer

Resident Agency - Clarksdale, Mississippi

Coahoma	Clarksdale	P. F. WILLIAMS, Chairman-Secy. E. P. PEACOCK, JR., Co-Chairman R. N. BALTZER, Vice Chairman C. S. MC GIVAREN, Treasurer
Tunica	Tunica	E. M. HOOD, JR., President C. S. O'KEEFE, Vice President ELLIS KOONCE, Secretary A. T. TUCKER, Treasurer
Quitman	Sledge	J. D. HICKS, President
Tallahatchie	Brazil	OTTO WOK, President CURTIS TATE, Vice President CURTIS COLLUM, Secretary
Tallahatchie	Philipp	FRANK SWEARENGEN, President W. B. POWELL, Vice President MRS. ED HORN, Secretary

105-34287-25-31

ME 105-121

CHAPTERS OF LOCAL CHAPTERS OF AOCM

Resident Agency - Greenville, Mississippi

<u>County</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Officers</u>
Washington	Greenville	CONWELL SYKES, President GILDER C. MC COOL, Vice President J. C. RAMSEY, Secretary
Washington	Arcola	R. S. KEMP, President J. E. MC CARTY, Secretary
Washington	Avon	W. A. GIFFORD, President LYNWOOD SANDRIDGE, Secretary
Washington	Hollandale	LLOYD KILPATRICK, President THOMAS HOLLINGSWORTH, Vice Pres. W. L. HOUP, Secretary
Washington	Glen Allan	Dr. J. C. WILLIS, JR., President ERNEST W. STONE, Vice President Mrs. PAUL C. LORE, Secretary
Washington	Leland	DON BAKER, President MARTIN HEARD, Secretary
Bolivar	Cleveland	T. E. PEMBLE, President CHARLIE JACOBS, Vice President DONALD KITCHINGS, Secy.-Treas.
Bolivar	Benoit	RALPH RAY, President C. E. WILLIAMS, Vice President W. W. THOMPSON, Secretary
Bolivar	Duncan	T. M. BOSCHERT, President W. H. WICKS, Vice President JOE JEFFRYS, Secretary
Bolivar	Rosedale	H. H. LAWLER, President HENRY MC CASLIN, Secretary
Bolivar	Shaw	GUY SIMPSON, President M. L. TURPIN, JR., Vice President RAYNOLD CHIZ, Secretary SAM LANGSTON, Treasurer

105-34237-28-51

ME 105-121

OFFICERS OF LOCAL CHAPTERS OF ACCM

Resident Agency - Greenville, Mississippi

<u>County</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Officers</u>
Bolivar	Shelby	M. T. EDDLEMAN, President J. M. DENTON, Secretary
Bolivar	Beulah	H. E. MC CASLIN, Treasurer

Estimated Membership

ROBERT PATTERSON was quoted by the "Commercial Appeal" newspaper in December, 1956, as stating that there were 85,000 members in 65 of 82 counties.

The source that supplied the above list of Councils advised that they were at one time affiliated with the ACCM. There are other very small informed groups in rural areas that consider themselves as Citizens' Councils but they exist in name only. Many of the above-listed councils were formed, had only one or two meetings, then became completely dormant. All of them provide nuclei for future organizations should a specific racial problem exist in their areas.

B. Memphis Citizens' Council
Memphis file 157-179
Bureau file 105-34237-28

The only known unit of this Council is at Memphis. It is not a definite affiliate of the ACCM but the latter organization helped promote it by furnishing speakers and encouragement.

Membership is estimated at 400.

C. Jackson, Tennessee, Citizens' Council
Memphis file 157-228
Bureau file 157-653

This is an outgrowth of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government and was organized in August, 1962.

The "Jackson Sun" in the October 17, 1962, issue reported that there were 200 members.

D. ~~Nashville Citizens' Council~~

Memphis file 105-207

Bureau file - None

(See Memphis letter to Bureau dated 4/17/62
entitled, "Citizens' Councils of America, RM.")

On 4/6/62 an organizational meeting was held
in Nashville to organize this Council, at which 80 persons
were in attendance. The Nashville "Tennessean" in the
4/7/62 issue, reported that 175 had signed membership
cards.

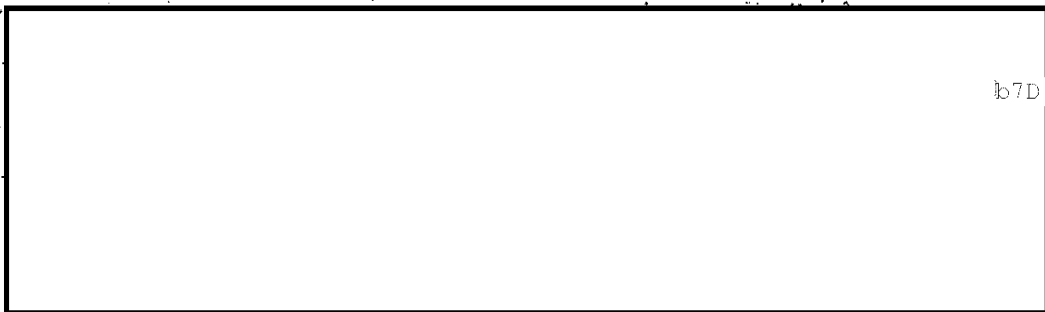
2) LEADERS

A. ACCM

In addition to the officers listed above for
the ACCM, it has been determined that the following are
current officers of the Citizens' Council at Oxford,
Mississippi:

Sheriff JOE W. FORD, President
OTTIS RAGLAND, Vice President
CHARLES BLACKWELL, Secretary (a student at
University of Mississippi Law School)
(FNU) MC NEELY, Treasurer (an employee of
Nelson's Department Store, Oxford)

B. Memphis Citizens' Council



b7D

Committee Chairmen:

LESLIE BIRCHFIELD, Information and Education
(insurance business)

OSCAR DIFEE, Membership and Finance
(employment agency)

I. S. HERRING, JR., Political and Elections
(railroad employee)

BRUCE LAW, Legal advisory (attorney).

C. Jackson, Tennessee, Citizens' Council

1962-63 officers:

RALPH LEWIS, President

CHARLES HARDEE, Vice President

Mrs. FORREST THOMPSON, Secretary

Mrs. PETE INGRAM, Treasurer

D. Nashville Citizens' Council

LEWIS FRAZER, President

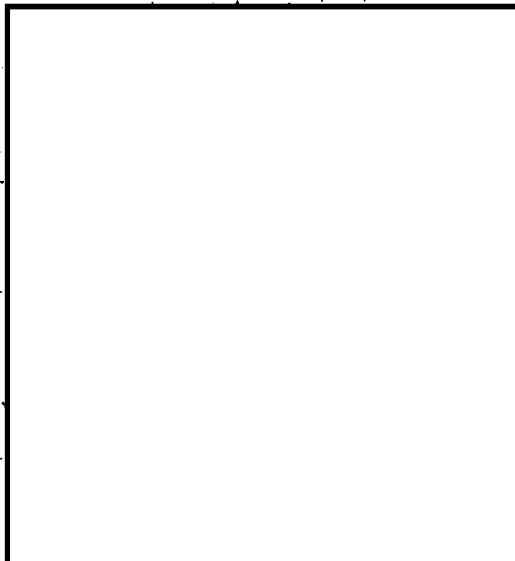
There is no information currently available regarding the identity of other officers.

None of the officers of Citizens' Councils are known to have been the subject of Bureau investigations.

3) COVERAGE OF COUNCILS

A. ACCM

Prior to the discontinuance of efforts to develop informants in Citizens' Councils, the following had been developed and are still being used:



b6
b7C
b7D

B. Memphis Citizens' Council



34237 51

C. Jackson Citizens' Council

[redacted] of the Resident Agent at Jackson, has volunteered considerable information regarding this group.

b6
b7C
b7D

D. Nashville Citizens' Council

[redacted]

In addition to the above, there are numerous cooperative [redacted] who will volunteer confidential information regarding Citizens' Councils.

4) POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE

A. ACCM

Generally, the existence of the ACCM in a given locality does not increase the potential for violence in that area. The ACCM leadership has not advocated violence and has in fact urged a peaceful resistance to various forms of integration. There is no known Klan infiltration in the ACCM.

B. Memphis Citizens' Council

The Klan has made an ineffectual effort to become active in this Council. Due to the degree of integration in Memphis, it is not believed the Council has any significant potential for violence. It is believed that the public realizes that local authorities in Memphis will not tolerate violence.

C. Jackson Citizens' Council

To date there is no reason to believe that this Council has any potential for violence and there is no known Klan activity.

Me 105-121

D. Nashville Citizens' Council

To date there is no reason to believe that this Council has any potential for violence and there is no known Klan activity.

105-121-7-6

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
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Page 87 ~ b7D

Page 88 ~ b7D

Page 89 ~ b7D

Page 90 ~ b7D

Page 91 ~ b7D

Page 92 ~ b7D

Page 93 ~ b7D